

This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from the King's Research Portal at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/>



**ANGLO-SAUDI CULTURAL RELATIONS
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF BILATERAL TIES, 1950-2010**

Alhargan, Haya Saleh

Awarding institution:
King's College London

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

END USER LICENCE AGREEMENT



Unless another licence is stated on the immediately following page this work is licensed

under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International

licence. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

You are free to copy, distribute and transmit the work

Under the following conditions:

- Attribution: You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
- Non Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
- No Derivative Works - You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Any of these conditions can be waived if you receive permission from the author. Your fair dealings and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact librarypure@kcl.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

**ANGLO-SAUDI CULTURAL RELATIONS:
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE CONTEXT
OF BILATERAL TIES, 1950-2010**

by

Haya Saleh AlHargan

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Middle East and Mediterranean Studies Programme

King's College

University of London

2015

ABSTRACT

This study investigates Anglo-Saudi cultural relations from 1950 to 2010, with the aim of greater understanding the nature of those relations, analysing the factors affecting them and examining their role in enhancing cultural relations between the two countries. Furthermore, the thesis is grounded within the area of public diplomacy, using cultural exchange as a means of developing ties between the UK and Saudi Arabia, and evaluating the power of Saudi-British cultural diplomacy to improve bilateral relations.

This thesis has been undertaken using an analysis methodology in order to examine the factors and events effecting Anglo-Saudi cultural relations by providing a study of political, economic, security and educational factors and their impact on such relations. It questions how and why certain events occurred, how these impacted on cultural ties, and then examines the ensuing consequences.

The research is made up of seven chapters. The first chapter provides an explanation of the conceptual and theoretical development of culture, cultural relations and cultural diplomacy. In the second chapter the thesis deals with the historical background of Anglo-Saudi relations and its current development, and then examines the factors that have impacted on Saudi-British bilateral relations, specifically the Buraimi and the Suez crises during the 1950s and 1960s in chapter 3, booming oil prices in the 1970s in chapter 4, the higher education links between Saudi Arabia and Britain during the 1980s and 1990s in chapter 5, the relationship in the light of the events of 11 September 2001 in chapter 6, and finally the growth of educational co-operation and the role of the British Council in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) and the Saudi Cultural Bureau in London in chapter 7.

In its examination of cultural, political and educational factors, the study has drawn on primary data from various archives in both Britain and Saudi Arabia, in addition to reports from the British Council, the Saudi Embassy, the Cultural Bureau in London and other secondary sources.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	2
Table of Contents	4
List of Tables	8
List of Figures	11
Acknowledgments.....	13
Abbreviations.....	14
 Introduction.....	 17
Studies on the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Problems with Cultural Relations and Resources	22
Saudis Studying in Britain and Cultural Institutes.....	28
Methodology - An Overall Picture	30
Data and Materials Collection	32
Thesis Structure	38
 Chapter 1	 41
The Concept of Culture and Public Diplomacy	41
Introduction.....	41
1. Definition of Culture.....	42
1.1 A Definition of Cultural Relations	44
1.2 Cultural Relations and Public Diplomacy	46
1.2.1 The 1967 Cultural Co-Operation Agreement	57
1.2.2 The Euro-Arab Dialogue.....	61
1.3 A Brief Summary of the Beginnings of British-Saudi Cultural and Scientific Exchanges	72
Conclusion	77
 Chapter 2	 82
Anglo-Saudi Relations after the Pre-1945 Era: Exploration, Exchanges and Visits, Trade and Economy, and Education and Culture	82
Introduction.....	82
2. A brief Overview of the Relations between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom	83
2.1 Official Visits	83
2.2 Trade and Economic Relations	85
2.3 Cultural and Educational Relations.....	88

2.4	Factors and Starting Points for Cultural Relations.....	97
2.4.1	Religion.....	97
2.4.2	Historical and Political Ties.....	102
2.5	Prospective Factors for building Anglo-Saudi Cultural Ties.....	105
2.5.1	Factor 1: Hajj and Umrah Seasons.....	105
2.5.2	Factor 2: Productive Political Relations between the Two Countries .	107
	Conclusion	112
	 Chapter 3.....	 115
	The Evolving Cultural Relationship between the United Kingdom and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the 1950s and 1960s	115
	Introduction.....	115
3.	Anglo-Saudi Disputes	118
3.1	The Buraimi Oasis.....	118
3.2	The Suez Crisis.....	126
3.3	The 1967 War and its Impact on Political Relations.....	130
3.4	Cultural Conditions and Change in Saudi Arabia and its Impact on Anglo- Saudi Cultural Relations in the 1950s-1960s.....	132
	Media	134
	Educational Exchanges and Travel.....	135
	Cultural Understanding and Exchange	143
	Conclusion	146
	 Chapter 4.....	 148
	The Oil Boom of the 1970s: Cultural Relations in a Time of Economic Growth	148
	Introduction.....	148
4.	Saudi Arabian Development Policies	152
4.1	British Investment in the Development of Saudi Society	159
4.1.1	Investments	159
4.1.2	A Review of Export and Import conditions between Saudi Arabia and the UK (1969-78).....	161
4.1.3	Saudi Arabian Imports from Britain	165
4.1.4	Saudi Arabian Exports to Britain.....	168
4.1.5	Comparison of Saudi Arabian Imports and Exports with Britain.....	171
4.2	How Export and Import conditions between Saudi Arabia and the UK Affected Cultural Relations	173
4.2.1	Travellers between Saudi Arabia and the UK.....	179
4.3	Anglo-Saudi Cultural Relations	188

Conclusion	195
Chapter 5	198
Higher Education Links between Saudi Arabia and Britain during the 1980s and 1990s	198
Introduction.....	198
5. Margaret Thatcher and King Fahd Visits: The Impact on Anglo-Saudi Cultural Relations	199
5.1 Thatcher's Visit to Saudi Arabia during the 1980s	199
5.2 King Fahd's Visit to Britain	206
5.3 The Anglo-Saudi Bilateral Relations Paradigm	207
5.4 Other Factors Impacting on Anglo-Saudi Relations	209
5.4.1 The Grand Mosque incident.....	209
5.5 The Revolution in Iran	211
5.6 Iran-Iraq War.....	211
5.7 From <i>Death of a Princess</i> and British Aerospace (BAE) to Iraq and British Nurses	212
5.8 Saudi Higher Education – links with Britain	214
5.8.1 Saudis Studying in the United Kingdom	215
5.8.2 Saudi Donations to UK Universities.....	215
5.8.3 King Fahd Chair for Islamic Studies	218
5.8.4 Feedback on the Kingdom's Donation for the King Fahd Chair	218
5.9 Statistics of Saudis Studying in Britain.....	222
Conclusion	230
Chapter 6	
The Impact of 9/11 attacks on Anglo-Saudi Cultural Relations	234
Introduction.....	234
6. The War on Terror	234
6.1 Britain and the Attacks of 9/11	235
6.2 Political Impact of 9/11 and British Public Opinion	239
6.3 Anglo-Saudi Relations and 9/11	242
6.3.1 The media impact on events between 2000-10.....	249
6.3.2 Cultural Relations Projects since 2000	270
Conclusion	274

Chapter 7	280
Anglo-Saudi Education Exchange	280
Introduction.....	280
7. Education Sector	282
7.1 Saudi and British Universities.....	283
7.2 Studying Abroad and Student Exchange.....	285
7.3 Language	291
7.3.1 English	291
7.3.2 Arabic.....	294
7.4 International Students in the UK.....	295
7.4.1 UK Council for International Student Affairs	295
7.4.2 The Prime Minister's Initiative (PMI)	298
7.5 The Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau and the British Council.....	304
7.5.1 Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau in London	305
7.5.2 The British Council in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	311
Conclusion	324
Bibliography	339
Appendix.....	369

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Saudi Students in the UK, France, Italy and Germany (1962- 69).....	137
Table 2: Comparison of the total numbers of Saudi students in the UK with France, Italy and Germany (1962-68).....	138
Table 3: Statistics of Travelling and Arriving from/to Saudi/London by Saudi Airlines, 1967-69.	139
Table 4: Numbers of passengers travelling to/from Saudi Arabia to other major European destinations by Saudi Airlines (1967-69).	141
Table 5: Progress in Saudi education each 5 years from 1970-1999	158
Table 6: The value of imports and export according to main trade countries 1969- 1978 (quoted as 000s SR).	162
Table 7: The source of Saudi Arabian imports from European Countries (1972-1980).	165
Table 8: The Percentage of Saudi Arabian Imports from the UK in relation to the total of all European countries (1972-1980)-	167
Table 9: The Percentage of Total Saudi Arabian Exports to Five European Countries (1972-1980),.....	168
Table 10: The Percentage of Saudi Arabian Exports of the UK from the European Countries 1972-1980.....	170
Table 11: Average percentage of exports and imports between Saudi Arabia and five European countries (1972-1980).....	172
Table 12: Percentage of Imports / Exports between the UK and Saudi Arabia.....	172
Table 13: Passengers travelling by Saudi Arabian aircraft to some European countries (1970-1979).....	180

Table 14: Passengers travelling by Saudi Arabian aircraft to London (1970-1979) and the Percentage changes for the following year.	182
Table 15: Total number of visitors arriving from the UK, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris during the 1970s.....	183
Table 16: Comparison by gender of the number of pilgrims arriving in Saudi Arabia from Europe and overseas in 1974.....	185
Table 17: Foreigners entering and leaving the Saudi Kingdom according to nationality (1974).....	186
Table 18: Comparison between passengers Arriving and Travelling between Saudi Arabia and London from 1970-1979	187
Table 19: The number of students studying in various European countries up to the end of 1970/71.	190
Table 20: The number of students studying abroad by 1978-79.	190
Table 21: Size of Saudi Support to American Universities among 20 Donating Countries to American universities.....	216
Table 22: Saudi Students Studying at British Universities and Abroad (1980-2006).	223
Table 23: Number of Saudi Students Studying Abroad for the First Time by Main Field of Study and Countries (1975/76 - 1979/80).	225
Table 24: Number of Saudi Students Studying Abroad by Country and Educational level (1979-80).....	226
Table 25: Number of Students Studying Abroad for the First Time (1977/78 - 1980/81).	227
Table 26: Number of Saudi Students Studying Abroad by Country and Main Fields of study (1983-84).....	228

Table 27: Saudis Studying Abroad: College Students by Country and Main Field of Study (1995).....	229
Table 28: Saudi Airlines: Total Number of Arrivals from London and New York (1997-2005).....	246
Table 29: Saudi Airlines: Passengers Travelling from Saudi Arabia to London, Frankfurt and New York (2002 -2006).....	247
Table 30: Passengers Travelling by Saudi Arabian Aircraft from Saudi Arabia to EU States (1970-1979).....	370
Table 31: The Total Number of Passengers Arriving by Saudi Aircraft from European Countries to Domestic Airports over the 1970s.....	370
Table 32: Saudi Students Graduating Abroad by Riyadh University in the UK and US (1970/71).....	370
Table 33: The Percentage of Saudi Arabian Exports of the UK from the European Countries (1972 -80).....	371
Table 34: Percentage of the UK Imports/Exports to Saudi Arabia as a total of the EU (1972-80).....	371
Table 35: Visa Statistics by Country: Top Ten Countries/Territories	373

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: System of Public Diplomacy.....	57
Figure 2: Saudi Students in the UK (1962-69)	137
Figure 3: Saudi Students in the UK, France, Italy, and Germany (1962-68).	138
Figure 4: Number of passengers travelling to/from Saudi Arabia and London by Saudi Airlines, (1967-69).....	140
Figure 5: Total number of passengers travelling to/from Saudi Arabia to UK.	140
Figure 6: Comparison of numbers of passengers travelling to/from London by Saudi Airlines compared with Frankfurt and Geneva (1969).	141
Figure 7: Value of Saudi exports to the UK.	163
Figure 8: Value of Saudi imports from the UK.	163
Figure 9: Value of Saudi Arabian exports to the UK & US.	164
Figure 10: The source of Saudi Arabian imports (%) from European Countries (1972-1980).	166
Figure 11: The share of European countries exports to Saudi Arabia (1972-1980)..	166
Figure 12: The average percentage of Saudi Arabian imports from some European countries as a total of its import value (1972-1980).	167
Figure 13: Percentage of Saudi Imports from the UK as a fraction of its Imports from EU	168
Figure 14: The percentage of Saudi Arabian exports to the UK, France, Germany, Italy and Netherlands (1972-1980).	169
Figure 15; Comparison of Saudi exports to European countries (1972-1980).	169
Figure 16; Average percentage of Saudi exports to European countries (1972-1980).	170
Figure 17: Percentage of Saudi Exports to UK as a value of its exports to the EU (1972-1980).....	170
Figure 18: Percentage of Imports/Exports the UK and the EU (1972-1980).	171
Figure 19: Average percentage of Saudi exports and imports with European countries (1972-1980).....	172
Figure 20: Comparison of the average percentage of Saudi Imports/Exports with the UK as a function of the total value of Saudi Imports/Exports (1972-1980).....	173

Figure 21: Comparison of the average percentage of Saudi Imports/Exports with the EU (1972-1980).	173
Figure 22: The number of passengers travelling by Saudi aircraft from Saudi Arabia to London, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris (1977-1979).....	181
Figure 23: The fraction of passengers travelling by Saudi aircraft from Saudi Arabia to London, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris (1970-1979).....	182
Figure 24: Passengers travelling by Saudi Arabian aircraft to London (1970-1979).	183
Figure 25: Total number of visitors arriving on Saudi Arabian aircraft from London, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris to Saudi Airports during the 1970s.....	184
Figure 26: Percentage of total passengers arriving in Saudi Arabia from London, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris by Saudi Arabian aircraft during the 1970s.....	185
Figure 27: Total number of passengers travelling between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom during the 1970s.....	187
Figure 28: Saudi Students Studying at British Universities and Abroad (1980-2006).	224
Figure 29: Mean Satisfaction Score (2007–10).	301
Figure 30: The UK Compares well against International Competitors in the level of Trust towards its People.....	316
Figure 31: Predictors of Trust in People from the UK.....	319

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For my mum

Sisters and Brothers

Family and Friends

Supervisor and Examiners

College Staff

My Colleagues

Thank you very much

ABBREVIATIONS

ARAMCO	Arabian American Oil Company (now Saudi ARAMCO)
ART	The Arab Radio and Television Network
BAE	British Aerospace (formerly the British Aircraft Corporation)
BBC	The British Broadcasting Corporation
BRIC	The BRIC countries – Brazil, Russia, India, China
CBI	The Confederation of British Industry
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CNN	Cable News Network
COMET	Centre for Online and Multimedia Educational Technologies
CSC	The Centre for Social Cohesion
EAD	Euro-Arab Dialogue
EC	European Commission
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
ERASMUS	European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GOTEVOT	The General Organization For Technical, Educational and Vocational Training
HC	House of Commons
HE	Higher Education

HE	His Excellency
HRH	His Royal Highness
IELTS	The International English Language Testing System
IoE	Institute of Education
IPPR	The Institute for Public Policy Research
JSP	The European Commission and the British Ministry of Education Joint Study Programme
KFA	King Fahd Academy in London
KSA	The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
LCMIC	London Central Mosque and Islamic Cultural Centre
LINGUA	Online Translation Community
MBC	Middle East Broadcasting Centre
MCB	The Muslim Council of Britain
MENAFN	Middle East North Africa, Financial Network
MOST	Muslims on Screen and Television
MP	Member of Parliament
NUS	The National Union of Students
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPEC	The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSAG	The Overseas Student Advisers Group
PDSR	Post-Doctoral Summer Research Programme
PEPS	Postsecondary Education Participants System
PES	Paid Education Services
PMI	The Prime Minister's Initiative
PMI2	The Second Prime Minister's Initiative

SABB	The Saudi British Bank, (HSBC Group)
SAGIA	The Saudi Arabian General Investment Authority
SAMA	The Saudi Monetary Agency
SCB	The Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau
SOAS	The School of Oriental and African Studies
SPA	The Saudi Press Agency
SR	Saudi Riyal
TEMPUS	Trans-European Mobility Programme for University Studies
TV	Television
TVTC	Technical and Vocational Training Corporation
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UCAS	Universities and Colleges Admissions Service
UK	The United Kingdom
UKCISA	UK Council for International Student Affairs
UKCOSA	The UK Council for Overseas Student Affairs
UKTI	UK Trade & Investment
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	The United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture
US	United States
VSO	The Voluntary Service Overseas

INTRODUCTION

In today's cosmopolitan world, cultural relations are part of a normal lifestyle. Furthermore, globalization has meant that there has been a steady increase in economic, educational, and political dealings taking place between people from different cultural backgrounds, and in order to achieve success in these dealings cultural factors need to be taken into account.¹ Indeed, it is an era when political and cultural affairs go hand in hand on a national level.

Since the beginning of the new century relations between the government of Saudi Arabia and the West have become much more complex for a variety of reasons, such as the events of 11 September 2001. This has made it even more important to avoid cultural misunderstanding and to create a better climate for communication between the people of Saudi Arabia and other governments, particularly those in Western countries.

For this thesis, the United Kingdom has been chosen as a case study of Anglo-Saudi cultural relations with the intention of examining and analysing the evolution of Anglo-Saudi cultural relations. The thesis is grounded within the area of public diplomacy, using cultural and educational exchanges as a means of developing ties between the UK and Saudi Arabia. In particular, it will look at education as a vehicle for cultural engagement.

More specifically, this research asks three primary questions:

- To what extent have the cultural relations of both countries developed and engaged since the 1950s?
- To what extent have political factors affected bilateral cultural relations?

¹ Jeanne M. Brett, 2000. "Culture and Negotiation", *International Journal of Psychology*, (Wiley-Blackwell: Hoboken, NJ., USA), vol. 35 (2), pp. 97-104.

- To what extent has education evolved as the key cultural asset in the bilateral relationship between the two countries?

It will also be demonstrated through this research that Anglo-Saudi cultural relations cannot be viewed solely on one aspect, or determined by one factor, but rather exist as a function of a complex relationship between both sides, and are also affected by external factors coming specifically from the United States and the relationship between Muslims around the world and the West.

When discussing Saudi-European relations, the policy of both sides (European and Saudi) towards one another is essentially based on political and economic advantage. Gerd Nonneman, in his article about Saudi relations with Europe, indicated that there have “been issues where deep conviction (whether religious or political), matters of pride or questions of intercultural communication have come very much to the fore.” Examples quoted by Nonneman include:

“the decision by King Faisal in 1973 to impose an oil boycott in response to Western support for Israel; on a much smaller scale, the upset over the *Death of a Princess* episode in 1980, which demonstrated a mutual lack of comprehension; or the debate in the late 1990s over policy towards Iraq. Yet such issues usually become especially important when they link in with the key considerations [...] for instance, when they are seen to impact on the legitimacy of the Saudi regime, or on the security of mutual economic interests. On their own, and away from those linkages, they tend not to reorientate policy very significantly or for very long.”²

Nonneman asserts that much of the present Saudi-European relationship was borne out of long-standing Saudi-British relations, and the history of both countries confirm this. In December 1915, Abdul Aziz met with Sir Percy Cox, the British Resident in

² Gerd Nonneman, 2001. “Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001: A Pragmatic Quest for Relative Autonomy”, *International Affairs*, (Royal Institute of International Affairs: London), vol. 77 (3), pp. 631-661.

charge of Gulf Affairs, to sign the first treaty that would build closer ties between the House of Saud and the UK. In 1916, Abdul Aziz was invited to Kuwait, as a guest of honour at a meeting for all Britain's regional allies.³

In 1917, towards the end of World War I, the first formal British mission was established in Riyadh.⁴ The delegation was headed by Harry St. John Philby, who in 1924 left British government service and became a trader, took up residence in Jeddah, converted to Islam and changed his name to Abdullah.⁵

In 1932, following the announcement by Abdul Aziz of the unification of Najd and the Hijaz and all the territories of his kingdom into a single sovereign state that would be known as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, with its capital in Riyadh, the new King sent a diplomatic mission to London. By 1934, the Saudi Embassy was well established and the Anglo-Saudi relationship had developed.⁶

In February 1945, following the Yalta Conference, Sir Winston Churchill met King Abdul Aziz on the Suez Canal.⁷ Educational and cultural links between the two Kingdoms began soon after this meeting, when some of the younger sons, grandsons and daughters of King Abdul Aziz were sent to Britain for their education. Other Saudis of means became frequent visitors to the UK for study and training, while British adventurers such as Rosita Forbes, Bertram Thomas, Wilfred Thesiger and

³ Gary Troeller, 1976. *The Birth of Saudi Arabia: Britain and the Rise of the House of Sa'ud* (Frank Cass: London); Richard Bayly Winder, 1965. *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* (Macmillan: London).

⁴ Joseph Kostiner, 1996. *The Making of Saudi Arabia 1916-1936: From Chieftaincy to Monarchical State* (Oxford University Press: Oxford).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Clive Leatherdale, 1983. *Britain and Saudi Arabia 1925-1939: The Imperial Oasis* (Frank Cass: London).

⁷ Barry Rubin, 1980. *The Great Powers in the Middle East: 1941-1947* (Frank Cass: London).

Harry St. John Philby explored the desert of Arabia and wrote accounts of their extraordinary experiences for the audiences back in Britain.⁸

During the 1960s, George Thompson, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs in Harold Wilson's government, visited Saudi Arabia on numerous occasions⁹ and conveyed to the Saudi authorities that the United Kingdom considered its relationship with the Saudi government as the most important relationship it had with any Arab country.

With increasing numbers of British people working in the Kingdom, the first British school was opened in Jeddah in 1967. The same year, with the aim of promoting bilateral cultural and educational relations, the British Council opened its first office in Riyadh. Today there are three British Council offices in the Kingdom, running a range of English courses and English language programmes, as well as teacher training and education counselling.

By the early 1970s, thousands of Saudi students had been accepted for undergraduate and postgraduate studies, as well as courses in the English language, in different part of the United Kingdom. From the beginning of 1975, as Saudi Arabia emerged as a strong force for modernization, the British Council and British

⁸ Harry St. John Philby was "in charge of British Political Mission to Central Arabia, 1917-18; crossed Arabian Peninsular [sic] from Uqair to Jidda; carried out exploration in South Central Arabia; in political charge of Central Arabian Mission to England, 1919; Adviser to Ministry of Interior, Mesopotamia, 1920-21; Chief British Representative, Transjordan, 1921-24; retired from ICS, 1925; elected to Council of Royal Geographical Society, 1925; awarded Sir Richard Burton memorial medal by Royal Asiatic Society, 1925; Resident Director in Arabia of Sharqieh Ltd, 1926-46; further exploration of Arabian Peninsular [sic] 1930-55; Director, Mitchell Cotts (Sharqieh) Ltd., Jeddah, 1946-55." PHILBY, Reference code: GB165-0229. Title: Harry St John Philby Collection. Name of creator: Philby, Harry St John Bridger (1885-1960) Explorer and Orientalist Dates of creation of material: c1902-1957. Level of description: Fonds. Extent: 89 boxes." St. Antony's College, Middle East Centre. Accessed 14 January 2015. <http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/mec/MEChandlists/Philby-Collection.pdf>. Philby wrote many books and articles about his journeys of exploration, such as "Across Arabia: From the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea", 1920. *The Geographical Journal*, (Royal Geographical Society: London); *Arabia* 1930 (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York); "Rub'Al Khali: An Account of Exploration in the Great South Desert of Arabia", 1933. *The Geographical Journal*, (Royal Geographical Society: London); *A Pilgrim in Arabia* 1946. (R. Hale Ltd.: London); *Arabian Jubilee* 1952 (R. Hale Ltd.: London); *Forty Years in the Wilderness* 1957, (R. Hale Ltd.: London).

⁹ George Thomson, *Arab States*. HC Deb 06 December 1965 vol. 722 c14W.

companies played a significant role in strengthening the special relationship, which resulted in accelerating and expanding English language learning centres in the main cities in Saudi Arabia, in addition to the opening of hundreds of British businesses.

In March 1981, Margaret Thatcher became the first British prime minister to visit Saudi Arabia.¹⁰ It was during her time as a prime minister that the British public first recognised the enormous international influence of Saudi Arabia, not only as the main producers of crude oil but as a regional superpower, the centre of Islamic values and Islamic culture, and a leader of the wider Islamic family of Arab and non-Arab nations.

During the First Gulf War, which resulted from Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, the strength of political ties between the two countries was illustrated once again as Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom fought side by side to expel the Iraqi forces and free Kuwait.¹¹

The firm friendship survived the backlash from the terrible events of 11 September 2001 and the Second Gulf War of 2003, and there are currently not only many thousands of British expatriates living in Saudi Arabia, but thousands more Saudis living in the UK, creating in the process a vast range of ties between the two Kingdoms. Currently more than 30,000 British Muslims, out of approximately two million Muslims in Britain, travel to Saudi Arabia every year to perform Hajj, the annual Muslim pilgrimage. The growing bilateral relations over recent years have revived the bicultural fusion that started in the early 1970s, when thousands of Saudi

¹⁰ William Quandt, 1981. *Saudi Arabia in the 1980s: Foreign Policy, Security, and Oil* (The Brookings Institution: Washington, DC, USA).

¹¹ Jeremy Hanley Saudi Arabia. HC Deb 24 January 1996 vol. 270 cc453-62.

students were offered the opportunity to study at higher educational institutes in the UK.

Studies on the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Problems with Cultural Relations and Resources

Political studies on Saudi Arabia exist in various forms. British government policy in the Middle East is well documented, particularly in the early part of the twentieth century when there was a significant amount of literature dedicated to Anglo-Saudi political relations. For example, the *Arab Bulletin* was a periodical produced in Cairo by the Arab Bureau, a section of the Intelligence department of the British forces in the Near East; established in 1915 to monitor German-Turkish Policy during the First World War.

However, while British policy with regards to Saudi Arabia is also well documented after the Second World War, to date no comprehensive study has been undertaken on Anglo-Saudi cultural relations in more recent times, particularly during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, no academic study has, up until now, used Saudi's cultural policy towards Britain, or Britain's cultural policy towards Saudi Arabia, as a case study for the examination of Saudi and British bilateral relations.¹²

“[...] little work has been done to fill in the contours. All too often, new writing consists of a rehash of stories already told, often relying on the same secondary sources, or of superficial country surveys prompted by the region's high profile over the last decade or two. Scholarly attention to the Peninsula is the product largely of no more than the last quarter-century. It is relatively sparse, and variable in its quality. With few exceptions, historical scholarship has yet to move beyond the comfortable horizons of country

¹² J.E. Peterson, 1991. “The Arabian Peninsula in Modern Times: A Historiographical Survey”, *American Historical Review*, (American Historical Association: Bloomington, IN., USA), vol. 96 (5), pp. 1435-1449.

studies and political analysis. One feature of Saudi Arabia's socioeconomic development and the emphasis placed on higher education has been the creation of a body of scholarly work, generally in the form of unpublished doctoral dissertations, by Saudi students, many of whom later rose to high positions in the government. One wonders to what degree these students were able to translate their ideas into practice upon their return home to government service.”¹³

In some cases, political events and even military crises between the countries have had an impact on bilateral relations on all levels. Most of the research chronicling tensions between the two countries have shown the negative impact on political and economic ties, but none have explored extensively the impact on cultural and educational relations between Britain and Saudi Arabia.¹⁴

“Earlier writing on the Peninsula dealt mostly with rulers and tribes. More recent writing, whether scholarly or otherwise, has concentrated heavily on country case studies. Much of this is political history (“names and dates”) but the country emphasis also holds true generally for what little economic and social history exists. As such, state formation provides a convenient and useful prism through which to view the historiography of Arabia. At first glance, the literature on Arabia seems misleadingly substantial. Its bulk is descriptive or narrative.”¹⁵

The collection and analysis of information regarding bilateral cultural relations between Saudi Arabia and the West is often problematical. For an effective analysis to take place, access to a variety of sources, such as the Saudi Archive in general and media Archives in particular, is often difficult. There has also been little or no access to the Saudi Information Ministry library since it was set up, and even after it was changed to the Cultural and Information Ministry it is difficult even to meet the

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ C Jones and J, Stone, 1997. “Britain and the Arabian Gulf: New Perspectives on Strategic Influence”, *International Relations*, (Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, CA., USA), vol. 13 (4), pp. 1-25.

¹⁵ Peterson, “The Arabian Peninsula in Modern Times”.

officials responsible for the international cultural relations department, or the external Media department.

Most Saudi students know how difficult it can be to do their research and how poor the facilities are in order to conduct research. That not only includes a lack of public and private libraries, but also limited facilities for researchers to access information, especially from government institutes such as ministry libraries. Furthermore, the author of this thesis is of the opinion that the idea of doing research “by Saudi researchers” in Saudi is not welcoming for obtaining in depth information about any private institution either internally or externally as much as any government one. Also, it is noticeable that the only easy way for a Saudi researcher to get information is to know an official in the department or institute that one wants to examine. Strangely, Western researchers can often do that more easily than Saudis.

For example, the author of this research attempted several times to meet some highly placed officials in government and private institutes in Saudi Arabia and London to get information about cultural matters related to their institutes work. However, as often as not, requests were ignored “or refused” and in the best cases they responded with superficial or propaganda statements.

For example, one of the institutions approached was the Saudi MBI Al Jaber Foundation in London. The aims of this institute include a role to close the gap between Arab and the West by education or, as its website states to “create an environment which brings people together, promoting good governance and cultural dialogue.” However, when the author attempted to examine it closely, there was little welcome even from the public relations department.

This was just one case but a similar reaction or result, with different excuses or responses and at different levels, was also received from other organisations such

as the Saudi-British Society, the Saudi Cultural Bureau, the British Council in Saudi, the Saudi Embassy, Education and Higher Education Ministries, and the Ministry of Culture and Information etc. Such responses to requests for information are not small obstacles, and other researchers in the region have observed similar difficulties. For example Nonneman¹⁶ observed that Saudi Cultural aspects are not used to engaging in this kind of study. Hence, at appropriate places the thesis will address a number of challenges posed by undertaking this study, and will discuss the degree to which these challenges relate to the lack of directly available information which has impacted on the research process. However, in some cases organisations were very helpful, such as the UNESCO, the Saudi delegation in Paris and the Saudi Foreign Ministry, which will be shown in this thesis.

This thesis analyses the 60 year-long cultural relationship between Saudi Arabia and Britain from 1950-2010, following the establishment of the Kingdom after the unification of the Saudi state, and the construction of the state infrastructure and the launch of real foreign relations. Due prominence is given to the historical and continuing cultural relationship between Saudi Arabia and Britain, as it seems peculiar that nothing substantial has been written about it, or even between Saudi and other Western countries, beyond snapshots of the current period in this relationship.

As has been established, doing research upon Saudi Arabia is beset with problems and challenges and gathering data from Saudi Arabia is extremely difficult. Even the British Council in Riyadh and London were not very helpful with regard to collecting reports from the 1980s onwards. In addition, the reports and data of the

¹⁶ Nonneman, "Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001".

British Council in Saudi Arabia can only be found in the British Archives in London for the 1970s.

However, when this information was requested from the Council in London, the reply by email was that, “we do not have it”, and from Riyadh the response was, “it has been destroyed”. It may be concluded that any matter related to Saudi Arabia is still considered confidential, even if the information required is only the number of Saudi students enrolled in the British Council in Saudi Arabia during the period between 1980 and 2001.

Nevertheless, this discrete approach to providing researchers information was not limited to the British Council; the Saudi Embassy and the Saudi Cultural Bureau in London were also unhelpful in this regard. In addition, it took a long time to receive a response from many of them, and any response that was received was mostly a little information if anything, and in the best cases some brief general statements on the subject without any documentation.

Perhaps this reluctance is due to the fact that no serious and responsible “scientific attention” has been shown in Saudi cultural relations with the world, and that there are no scholars who specialise in the Saudi cultural relations strategy and the role of culture from an international perspective. This was in fact raised by Dr Abdel Aziz bin Slemh the minister responsible for external media in the Ministry of Culture and Information in Saudi Arabia. Bin Slemh, who the author had a chance to meet briefly in 2010 at the “GCC Days” Conference in London, was asking: “is there any clear vision for the nature of the work of the culture sector in the Ministry of Culture and Information? To make it clear, does the ministry have a particular strategy about the cultural field? Does the ministry have international cultural policies?” He was sure that these strategies exist, but their existence is not enough,

and the main thing is the correct implementation of these strategies and their outcome. More importantly, the officials who work in such departments have to be fully aware of the cultural importance of their work and its advantages. Bin Slemh has stimulated the creation of a platform of policies which can be inspired by work philosophy and a way of thinking about cultural activities.¹⁷ He added that the existence of cultural policies are an important key in any country, the absence of such policies, or if they are unclear for the officials who work in this field, was described by him as like pushing a kart in the dark and not knowing its direction.¹⁸ “An exercise of this kind can be fruitful only if more generally grounded in an understanding of the trends in Saudi foreign policy.”¹⁹

Therefore, this thesis attempts to fill this lacuna by providing a detailed historical account of Anglo-Saudi cultural policy since 1950, and by offering a perspective on Anglo-Saudi cultural policy in recent years. At the same time, a rigorous examination of the available historical evidence and documents aims to highlight the complexities of Anglo-Saudi cultural policies, challenging simplistic explanations of Saudi's pro-British stance and vice-versa.

¹⁷ After unsuccessful attempts to arrange a meeting with Dr Abdel Aziz bin Slemh, because of his busy schedule, I decided to look at his writing. He managed to publish numerous newspaper articles about international cultural relations in the Kingdom; one of them is an article in *Riyadh* newspaper enquiring: “After Integration of the Culture and Media, is there a Cultural Policy in Saudi Arabia?” A Royal Order in 2002 merged the cultural services with the Ministry of Information, and in effect changed the Department, to be called the Ministry of Culture and Information.

¹⁸ Abdel Aziz bin Slemh, “After Integration of the Culture and Media, is there a Cultural Policy in Saudi Arabia?” (*Riyadh*, 2002).

¹⁹ Nonneman, “Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001”.

Saudis Studying in Britain and Cultural Institutes

There are many ties of history and friendship between Britain and the Saudi kingdom, including well-developed cultural, educational and sporting exchanges.²⁰ For example, since 1980 “there is a large and successful sports co-operation programme involving now over 75 training exchanges annually.”²¹

The objectives of the Saudi government are to fulfil the educational and cultural objectives of the Kingdom, which reflect the true nature of Islam and contemporary Saudi society and prevent conflicts between nations by promoting religious dialogue. Such a strategy may well have a profound political impact in the Middle East, easing tensions between nations. Now and after 9/11 the Saudi government, at its highest levels, has been keen to adopt educational and cultural policies designed to engage Saudi citizens with other cultures.

Historically, in the 1970s, the number of Saudi Arabian students studying abroad was relatively low, and the distribution among European countries was also low. However, even then Britain was more likely to host Saudi Arabian students than the rest of Europe.

The Anglo-Saudi Cultural Agreement of 1967, stipulated that dealings should be reciprocal, although the reality was that there were no student exchanges or exchanges of scholars on the Saudi side. Rather, the UK provided professors and scientists to Saudi Arabia and no students went to Saudi Arabia from Britain.

Subsequently, in the mid-1970s, when Saudi Arabia's external policy had evolved towards an international opening of its economy, a new development policy scheme by King Faisal resulted in a flow of students going abroad. .

²⁰ Hanley, *Saudi Arabia*.

²¹ “UK in Saudi Arabia: Relations”. Saudi-British Relations Website.

The fact cannot be overlooked that Saudi students in recent times can be found in almost all towns and cities in Britain. Furthermore, big cities, such as London, Manchester, Nottingham, Birmingham and Edinburgh have large numbers of Saudis studying at postgraduate level. London alone hosted almost half of the 6,000 Saudi students that were studying in the UK in 2010. Even smaller cities like Bournemouth and Brighton have large numbers of English language students. At the same time, however, there are potential gains related to student exchanges for both countries; strengthening of cultural relations for example, enhanced commercial ties, transfer of technology, awareness of the other culture and promoting peace.

In the face of the escalating numbers of Saudi students in Britain, the Government of the Kingdom established an Education Office in the mid-1960s and the British Council opened in Saudi in 1967. As this thesis will show, it is incorrect to equate the roles of the Saudi Cultural Bureau in London and the British Council in Saudi Arabia, since the activities of both are quite different.

The cultural patterns above are reflected in some historical and current issues in Saudi-British relations, and have implications for the future as well. The thesis will highlight some of them in order to better understand the foreign policy of the Saudi state and what impact recent cultural diplomacy has had on Saudi foreign policy.

Methodology - An Overall Picture

The relationship between both countries, such as political, security and economic issues, has been examined in some depth, so it will be enough here merely to highlight it in relation to cultural relations. In this thesis, “Saudi Arabia is undoubtedly the ‘heavyweight’ on the GCC side. In some ways, indeed, GCC policy towards Europe can be seen as an extension of Saudi policy (e.g. on petrochemicals).”²²

This thesis has been undertaken using an analysis methodology in order to examine the factors and events effecting Anglo-Saudi cultural relations. In order to do that the thesis has built on analytical frameworks and approaches. The analytical frameworks include both the conceptual frameworks, and the impact factors approach. Conceptual frameworks have been applied to the term cultural diplomacy, according to the methodology applied by Yin. “The definition and key features of the concept have been explored in detail, with emphasis on the role of government and its purposes. To avoid conceptual confusion, the relations between cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy and soft power are also examined. Cultural diplomacy highlights the role of culture in the external diplomacy of a country and also the role of government in facilitating the cultural diplomacy overseas.”²³

The methodology adopted in this thesis to pursue its aims depend on the concept of public diplomacy, which uses two inseparable tracks in role and function which concludes by cultural relations and cultural diplomacy. Yin, in his Master’s thesis *Britain’s Cultural Diplomacy in China*, covered this point well by saying:

²² Nonneman, “Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001”.

²³ Youwei Yin, 2014. “Britain’s Cultural Diplomacy in China”, (Master’s Thesis, China and International Relations. Aalborg University, Denmark & University of International Relations, China).

“Richard Arndt distinguished between cultural relations and cultural diplomacy, stating that the former grows “naturally and organically, without government intervention” and includes cross-cultural encounters such as trade transactions and tourism, flows of students, communications, book circulations, immigration, access to media, etc. Cultural diplomacy, according to Arndt, mainly concerns formal diplomatic relations with diplomats in the service of national governments employing these exchanges for the purposes of national interests thus emphasizing the role of governments and its goals it hopes to obtain. This thesis also argues that cultural diplomacy, often conducted towards one country, is often one-sided while cultural relations emphasizes the mutual or bilateral relationships between the two sides. The practice of cultural diplomacy has been known as international cultural relations in the UK. Thus for the convenience of discussion, these two terms are often used interchangeably.”²⁴

Therefore, the thesis will concentrate on concept and practice. The research is based on an analysis of the mutual cultural relations between Saudi and Britain, where cultural aspects in their relations seems have been given little consideration from both sides until now. Cultural aspects in their relations have been examined to find evidence of the extent of improvement over the six decades being studied, besides the other more obvious relations, factors and appearances, and in which way both countries use cultural diplomacy between them.

Furthermore, “the introduction to [Anglo-Saudi] cultural diplomacy has been examined under this conceptual framework, with focuses on [throughout the thesis] the [KSA-UK] governmental level (emphasising the role of government) and at the operational level (namely to examine how British Council, [Saudi Cultural Bureau] and other [state and] non-state actors are involved).”²⁵

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

The selected case is based on the United Kingdom because it is the second major international player after the US, and its increasing presence in KSA in security and investment activities, and culturally via the British Council, is very obvious. Also, Britain has had strong historical relationship with Saudi Arabia since 1902, indeed longer than any other Western country as mentioned earlier. On the other side, the continued increase in Saudi students and tourists in Britain is very visible. This aspect, alongside the educational link in particular, will be discussed throughout the thesis. Therefore, it is valuable to select Britain as a case study of Western countries in an examination of the cultural relations with Saudi Arabia, which would be key in understanding the cross-cultural dimension with Saudi and this kind of relationship. Therefore, conclusions may already be drawn that Saudi should build connections and trust with Britain and should take progressive steps in this kind of relationship with Britain for all the reasons indicated above and others.

Another important consideration for this choice is that as Britain has a completely different culture than Saudi, for example the religion and the language, it could argued that making strong cultural links and communications with such people would be very difficult and a challenge to both countries. So in this thesis it attempts to find ways and evidence, using a variety of factors and platforms, in how these two opposing countries could link culturally together.

Data and Materials Collection

This thesis combines historical and analytical approaches to provide a comprehensive picture of the impact of fluctuating events (the Buraimi Oasis and Suez Crises, and then in the final chapter the terror attacks of 9/11) on bilateral relations. The study has intentionally chosen not to examine all the important events that have defined the bilateral political relationship – the Palestinian issue since 1948, the Yemen war

during the 1960s, the Arab-Israeli war in 1967, the oil embargo that followed the Arab-Israeli War of 1973, the 1990 invasion of Kuwait, and the 2003 Iraq war. These receive passing mention but are not the focus of this thesis.

This study starts by explaining the concepts of culture in general, and then clarifying the distinction of the concepts of cultural relations and cultural diplomacy. “Even if there is a clear difference in cultural diplomacy and cultural exchange, the two concepts are not entirely separable.” In their paper of *Correlation between Cultural Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange*, Bin, Cho and others see “cultural exchanges as a subordinate category of cultural diplomacy, perceiving it as a way to enhance the positive linkage between nations.”²⁶

Anthropological research states that international cultural relations include any acceptable kind of social link. Social activities in today’s world are, at most, effective in designing and shaping international cultural relations. This practice has become a major part of the diplomatic means to achieve a government’s objectives.²⁷

Sensitivity to other cultures and learning to communicate effectively, is the “face-value” of international relations, this could apply in the case of Anglo-Saudi relations.²⁸

Despite the practical difficulties of this research, material was located in the British Archives. The study has performed a rigorous examination of the available historical evidence and documents, with an aim to highlight the complexities of

²⁶ Sang Hun Bin, Kyung Ryun Cho, Hong Ju Na, and Young Hee Park, 2013. *Correlation between Cultural Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange: in Cases of the British Council and the Korean Cultural Center*, (The Academy for Cultural Diplomacy, Berlin: Institute for Cultural Diplomacy ICD).

²⁷ International organisations such as UNESCO and other specialised agencies of the UN are playing a vital role in advancing international cultural relations. UN officials argue that the practice is significantly advanced after the digital revolution. Byron L. Fox, “International Cultural Relations”, *American Sociological Review*, (American Sociological Association: Washington, DC., USA), vol. 15 (4), pp. 489-495.

²⁸ Ibid.

Anglo-Saudi cultural policies, challenging simplistic explanations of Saudi's pro-British stance and vice-versa.

“Scholars, who conduct research involving international dimensions, note the importance of primary sources as a viable option for data collection.”²⁹ The primary sources obtained from the official archives of Britain were documents of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Colonial Office and Cabinet papers, which were examined at the Public Records Office at Kew. Other primary sources included the published collections of declassified documents, private papers and memoirs.

Secondary sources were obtained from a variety of private and institutional libraries, such as books, theses, periodicals and newspapers, and also private dialogues. Sources were obtained from both sides; from the Saudi side: The Cultural Bureau and Embassy of Saudi Arabia in London, the Department of Statistics, the Monetary Agency, the Ministry of Higher Education, King Faisal Foundation Library, and Al-Darh King Abdul Aziz Library, in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

On the British side, the following institutions provided valuable information: The British Council in Riyadh, The British Library and King's College Library, London. In addition, for limitations in sources on this topic, British media could be channelled towards alternative sources, for which it proved not merely possible to obtain the views in how British people see Saudi Arabia but also in forming their views toward the country and to show their interest in it. Therefore, the purview of this study will encompass analysis of the media and some news throughout the thesis which could take into account cultural differences. References from newspapers and

²⁹ Chuing Prudence Chou, Amy Roberts, Gregory S. Ching, 2012. “A study on the international students’ perception and norms in Taiwan”, *International Journal of Research Studies in Education*, (Consortia Academica: Phillipines), vol. 1 (2), pp. 71-84.

newspaper archives for the Guardian, BBC News, the Times, the Arab News, Saudi Gazette, and the *New York Times* were particularly valuable.

It should be noted here, given an awareness of the pragmatic limitations of sources, that this study has not explored the public views (or the views of a certain group) of cultural relations on each side, nor the views of Saudis studying in Britain. Rather, as stated earlier, analysis of the impact of some events and factors on Anglo-Saudi cultural relations through, mostly, qualitative methods and some quantitative methods, such as data collected from the original sources such as the Saudi Monetary Agency (SAMA), Saudi Airlines, the Saudi Cultural Bureau, the Foreign Ministry and finally the Saudi Higher Education Ministry. These sources of data have links to the majority of qualitative data available which is related to the factors that could impact on those numbers, such as the amount of investment and trade, the number of Saudis studying abroad and travellers from/to London, which were all analysed to show to what extent they impact upon each other.

Therefore, figures from the Saudi Statistics Body from 1962 to 2010 have been chosen, including the numbers of Saudi students studying in Britain, Saudi people travelling to Britain from 1970 to 2010, and vice versa which demonstrate how “the impact of Britain’s cultural influence can be witnessed by the growing number of [Saudi] students studying in UK [and the travellers]. The popularity of British culture in [Saudi] can also serve as evidence of the positive results of its cultural diplomacy.”³⁰

Also, statistics from SAMA for the investment and trade between both countries, as well as some statistics from Saudi Higher Education annual reports, can give an indication of what has been achieved.

³⁰ Yin, 2014. “Britain’s Cultural Diplomacy in China”.

Statistics of the number of travellers between both countries, and the numbers of Saudi students in the UK, which was very extensive from 1962 up to 2006, came from the Saudi archives and from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which was used extensively throughout the thesis. In fact, the movement of travellers between the two countries preceded diplomatic relations. Trade and investment data between both countries also came from a variety of sources, especially from SAMA and the OECD.

The author also managed to undertake informal interviews with Mr Daniel Kawczynski, Member of Parliament for Shrewsbury & Atcham, who is Chairman of the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Saudi Arabia, and also with some members of the British Council in Riyadh and Jeddah. In the same context, the author also had a discussion on the matter of Anglo-Saudi cultural ties with HRH Prince Turki Al-Faisal, the former Saudi Ambassador to the United Kingdom from 2002-2005, in his office at Georgetown University. In addition, the author had a conversation with the Under-Secretary of the Saudi Foreign Ministry for Economic and Cultural Relations in Riyadh, HE Dr Yusuf Al-Saadoun, and with one of the cultural officials at the Saudi Arabia Embassy in London. Finally, an interview was held with the longest serving member of the Saudi Cultural Bureau in London, Mustafa Mursi.

The research also includes observations from the author herself within this thesis. These are included for two reasons; firstly she is a Saudi national and has lived her whole life in the kingdom until 2005. Secondly, from the beginning of 2006 the author transferred to Britain to study (English, Master's, and PhD) until the completion of this thesis at the end of 2014.

So she has spent around 8 years immersed in the British culture, under what is broadly called a “Saudi studying abroad” or as it called in Britain an “international

student”, and is ideally placed to comment on the current state of Anglo-Saudi relations at a cultural level.

The author was fascinated by living in the UK, which is completely different from her native Saudi culture. On the one hand, she noticed early after her arrival to study in the UK that some British people she met at her school were also interested to learn about Saudi culture, but on the other hand she noticed how difficult it was to contact with Britons outside her academy. In particular, there was no encouragement for them to communicate with the author without a formal reason for a chat, or unless there was a place that collected them together, such as a school, academy or university. Therefore, the author came to the conclusion that if Saudis want to have a greater contact with British people, being in educational institutes were the best places to start. Also, she noticed how the British needed a reason to connect with foreign people, in general, both inside and outside Britain. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that Saudis must look for new ways (reasons) and initiatives to encourage people to communicate with them, beside the links have already existed between both countries like investment and trade.

However, the physical appearance of Saudis studying in Britain is a great opportunity to take the advantage in this respect:

“In an educational setting social capital is defined ‘as the networks, together with norms, values, and understandings that facilitate cooperation with or among groups.’ [...] In a study of Australian universities, Burnheim (2003) noted that it is important to understand: 1.) the particular role of social capital in the networks and networking within the universities, which themselves constitute capital; and 2.) the universities’ roles in the creation of the norms, values, and understandings which enable networks to operate. Similarly, in a mixed method study regarding international students in Australia, Neri and Ville (2006) noted that poor social networks in unfamiliar cultural and educational

institutions have an adverse impact on the wellbeing and academic performance of the students.”³¹

Being a Saudi living with an English host-family is an opportunity that must not be missed. To live within the relevant culture is a great advantage over living in a different culture. The education institute and a close host-family gives a Saudi student living among them the best way to identify English culture, aside from just speaking the English language. Students who possess a direct knowledge of British culture have an advantage when working to improve the image of both sides, and might gain improvement in some essential aspects of their personality. Any approach and study of cultural relations can produce reliable results, regardless of the homesickness or difficulties that these students might face.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, including this introduction and conclusion. Chapter 1 provides the conceptual and theoretical development of culture, cultural relations and cultural diplomacy. Discussing the importance of the term culture for the thesis, and notions of public diplomacy and the role of culture within it, the chapter locates the importance of culture within the umbrella of public diplomacy. It also examines the first Cultural Agreement made between Saudi Arabia and the UK, following negotiations which started in 1967 to the eventual signing of the agreement in 1975.

Chapter 2 provides a background of the bilateral relations of both countries, and an overall picture of cultural relations since 1945, and the discussion of cultural relations is continued in chapter 3, which covers the period of the 1950s and 1960s, examining in the process, the animosity between the Saudi government and Britain

³¹ Chou, Ching and Roberts, “A study on the international students’ perception and norms in Taiwan”.

over the Buraimi Oasis dispute and the Suez crisis that took place in these decades. This chapter will show not only the importance of significant security interests in establishing cultural relations but also the centrality of security issues in preventing evolving cultural ties.

Chapter 4 discusses the huge investments of the United Kingdom in Saudi Arabia after the oil boom of the 1970s, and traces the shift in relations in favour of the cultural relations between both countries. Chapter 5 discusses the impact of Saudi educational development in Saudi Arabia and its links to bilateral ties with the UK during 1980s and 1990s.

Chapter 6 traces the impact of 9/11 on bilateral ties and how this has influenced cultural relations. In particular, events since 9/11 have renewed scholarly interest in the role of culture in international security as they increasingly view “challenges like [...] the war on terror through the lens of national identity and culture”.³²

Finally, chapter 7 focuses on the higher education exchanges that have taken place in recent times and examines the role of cultural institutes – the British Council in Saudi Arabia and the Saudi Cultural Bureau in London – in the bilateral relationship. For example, Chou et al. discussed how scholarship opportunities for international students are one of the most promising factors in higher education at the present time.³³ This opportunity to study in Britain became reality for Saudi students through the King Abdullah Programme and through the facilities made available by the British government and international student’s mobility systems in the UK.

³² Jeffrey S. Lantis, 2006. *Strategic Culture: From Clausewitz to Constructivism*. Prepared for: Defence Threat Reduction Agency Advanced Systems and Concepts Office Comparative Strategic Cultures Curriculum. (Washington, DC), p. 3.

³³ Chou, Ching and Roberts, “A study on the international students’ perception and norms in Taiwan.”

Cultural misconception is all too often a cause of many conflicts; big and small, violent and non-violent. Acknowledging cultural diversity requires clear and strong cultural relations. In particular, it impacts on bilateral “imaginings” of the Other and influences directly the cultural imagination of both.³⁴

As such, building a solid cultural relationship is an end in itself, but it is also a prerequisite to moving beyond cultural sensitivity and to addressing fundamental issues such as the consumption of oil, commercial exchange, security issues, and political considerations.

³⁴ Priya Satia, 2006 “The Defense of Inhumanity: Air Control and the British Idea of Arabia.” *The American Historical Review* (American Historical Association: Bloomington, IN., USA), vol. 111 (1), pp. 16-51.

CHAPTER 1

THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

“In today’s world, international friendships that cross cultural and political boundaries are essential to the development of better understanding and to the realization of our shared goal of a peaceful and fruitful co-existence in a secure world.”

Mohammed bin Nawaf, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the Court of St James (2007).³⁵

INTRODUCTION

This thesis offers the first in-depth study of Anglo-Saudi cultural relations. The first chapter provides the conceptual and theoretical development of culture, cultural relations and cultural diplomacy. The chapter will discuss the importance of the term ‘culture’ in relation to the thesis and notions of public diplomacy and the role of culture within it, locating the importance of culture within the umbrella of the public diplomacy.

The thesis is grounded within the area of public diplomacy, using cultural exchange as a way of developing ties between the UK and Saudi Arabia. The thesis explores cultural relations and this chapter provides a definition of culture in order to proceed with such analysis from the start.

The idea of public diplomacy is also defined and discussed, including cultural relations and public diplomacy and the origins of formalised cultural relations with

³⁵ Speech by Saudi Ambassador, Prince Nawaf bin Mohammed, in an official booklet published in 2007 by the Saudi Embassy in London on the occasion of the visit by the King of Saudi Arabia, Abdulla Bin Abdul Aziz, to the United Kingdom in 2008. The speech was delivered in the Court of St James in 2007. Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 2008. *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The United Kingdom; a History of Friendship* (Saudi Embassy: London), p. 2.

the UK and Europe in the form of the 1967 Cultural Agreement with the UK and the Euro-Arab Dialogue. Some reasons will be given for the initiation of the Dialogue and also the success of the initiatives, or otherwise, will be considered. This idea suggests that public diplomacy has transcended traditional forms of diplomacy, moving beyond engagement with leader/regimes, to engagement with people. This appears to support the importance of cultural exchange/education and will also be explored in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

Furthermore, the question may be raised as to how the impact of public diplomacy is measured? The thesis will be concerned in how this idea of public diplomacy fits into more conventional diplomatic relations between the two states and the impact that it might have on bilateral relations between the two nations.

The thesis assumes that education will facilitate cultural exchange but until now no evidence has been offered to support this view. Because the way in which this must be measured needs a different methodological approach, this thesis will discuss the validity of the argument for the bilateral cultural relations between Saudi Arabia and the UK.

Hence this chapter is a conceptual unpacking of culture, public diplomacy and the role of education. It will also provide an analysis of the first and only “Cultural Agreement” between the United Kingdom and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1967.

1. Definition of Culture

To commence it is necessary to first define what is meant by the word “Culture”. However, without going too deeply into the complexities of the many different definitions of culture by scholars and authors, such as those referenced by Hervé

Varenne in his writing, “*The Culture of Culture*”.³⁶ Instead this term will be confined to a brief definition by a cultural body - the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

The term – which corresponds to “*Thaqafa*” in Arabic – is often used to refer to the heritage, community of beliefs, customs, traditions, ideas, values, precepts, and ideals “acquired by [a human] as a member of society.” The concept of culture also includes the attitudes and material values that frame the way people live. Moreover, it includes knowledge that is transferred from generation to generation, including literature in all its forms, music, folk art, visual art, sculpture, dance and films.³⁷

In addition, culture has been defined in several conferences held by UNESCO, as well as in the writings of scholars of UNESCO. Therefore, it can be summarised as:

- A particular society at a particular time and place;
- The tastes in art and manners that are favoured by a social group;
- Acculturation: all the knowledge and values shared by a society;
- The attitudes and behaviours that are characteristic of a particular social group or organization.³⁸

³⁶ Hervé Varenne, Professor of Education, has collected many definitions of culture, such as Edward Tylor (1871), Franz Boas (The mind of primitive man 1911), Ruth Benedict (1934), Margaret Mead (1937), Max Weber (1904), Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (1951), Claude Lévi-Strauss (1949), Gregory Bateson (1960), John Dewey (1916), James Baldwin (1955), Antonio Gramsci (1932), Lionel Trilling (1955), Michel Foucault (1971), Raymond Williams (1981), Ward Goodenough (1971), Milton Singer (1968), Clifford Geertz (1966), David Schneider (1968), James Boon (1972), Richard Shweder (1991), and Bruno Latour (1987). His page was originally developed as background material for a Culture and Communication Course. It is part of a collection of pages designed to introduce various approaches to the concept of culture as it is used in anthropology. See, Hervé Varenne, *The Culture of Culture: Snippets from overhearing a conversation about “Culture”*.

³⁷ UNESCO, *Cultural Diversity*. Social and Human Sciences. International Migration and Multicultural Policies.

³⁸ UNESCO, 1993. *World Commission on Culture and Development, Twenty-Seventh Session*, (UNESCO: Paris).. See also, UNESCO, 1998. Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development.

Based on these definitions, there are a large number of tools that could be used to highlight community culture, and the features that distinguish one culture from another. Consequently, this can be used to find common values in wider areas of cultural relations common to all nations.

1.1 A Definition of Cultural Relations

“No two people define ‘cultural’ in precisely the same way” as George Vaillant asserts, “since culture means highly intellectual pursuits to some, quality clothing, type of food, and to yet another group the somewhat formidable field of all those human traits, possessions, and activities not biologically transmissible from one generation to another.” Cultural relations work “toward direct understanding between peoples as opposed to more formal contacts through their embassies, business organizations, and those other types of collective frame-work, which so often obscure the human aspects of a nation's life.”³⁹

Furthermore, another more detailed definition of cultural relations is given by Herbert Myron. His definition, based on the UNESCO model, clarifies cultural relations as “neither a decoration, frill and ornament, nor government connections.

Adopted in by the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development, (UNESCO: Sweden). From the United Nations see, Diana Ayton-Shenker, 1995. *Background Note: The Challenge of Human Rights and Cultural Diversity*, (United Nations Department of Public Information DPI/1627/HR). Accessed on 16 February 2015 <http://www.un.org/rights/dpi1627e.htm>. Also, Karl-Erik Norrman, “Definitions, Ideas, Visions and Challenge for Cultural Diplomacy”, (*E-International Relations*, 3 January 2013). Accessed on 16 February 2015 <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/01/03/definitions-ideas-visions-and-challenges-for-cultural-diplomacy>; Aliaksandr Birukou et al., 2009. *A Formal Deflation of Culture*. (University of Trento: Italy). Accessed on 16 February 2015 <http://eprints.biblio.unitn.it/1604/1/021.pdf>; Jalal Ali Belshak, “The Influence of Culture on the Negotiation Styles of British Students”, *ARECLS e-journal*, (University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England). Accessed on 16 February 2015 http://research.ncl.ac.uk/ARECLS/volume_3/jalalali.pdf

³⁹ George C. Vaillant, 1945. “Shadow and Substance in Cultural Relations”, *The Scientific Monthly*, (American Association for the Advancement of Science; Washington DC, USA), vol. 60 (5), pp. 373-8.

Rather, cultural relations are preserved as the mutual understanding between different people, groups based on other's character, qualities and beliefs."⁴⁰

In addition, the author of this thesis suggests that the learning of a modern language abroad, particularly in multicultural classes and institutions, could encourage cultural understanding. The classroom engagement between students of different backgrounds and ethnicity could lead to freeing themselves "from prejudice and provincialism."⁴¹

In his study of building networks through cultural relations, former Chief Executive of the British Council, Martin Davidson, stated in 2007 that cultural relations, "with its emphasis on developing long-term, mutually beneficial relationships, can contribute to the development of solutions by [...] connecting people, emphasising a willingness to listen, and focusing on mutual benefit."⁴² Davidson also argues that "cultural relations do much more than develop better mutual understanding, but can also provide the platform on which collective action on issues such as climate change can be based. The ability to construct networks through cultural relations will be a key component of the conduct and future development of public diplomacy."⁴³ For these and other reasons, cultural relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) and the United Kingdom (UK) are deeply rooted in common values, as will be highlighted throughout this thesis.

⁴⁰ Herbert B. Myron, Jr., 1946. "Languages Anew". *The Modern Language Journal*, (National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations: Monterey CA, USA), vol. 30 (3), pp. 122-33.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 124.

⁴² Martin Davidson, 2007. "Cultural Relations: Building Networks to Face Twenty-First-Century Challenges". *Engagement: Public Diplomacy in a Globalised World*, Eds. Jolyon Welsh and Daniel Fearn, (Foreign and Commonwealth Office: London), p. 77.

⁴³ Ibid.

1.2 Cultural Relations and Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy is no longer limited to broadcast messages and publicity campaigns, or to the government communications of foreign officials working in the field of foreign policy. It has become about building relationships with actors within civil society in other countries and facilitating the establishment of networks between non-government parties at home and abroad. The researcher and expert Dr Abdul-Wahab Al-Kayali in his *Diplomacy Encyclopaedia* says that diplomacy is one of the main instruments to achieve foreign policy aims. The definition of influence states that in order to induce support in various ways, some of the influence is convincing, some is moral and some may be immoral.⁴⁴

Beside the transfer of information and negotiation on behalf of governments, diplomats seek to strengthen relations between countries and develop them in different areas. Al-Kayali thinks that leaders (prime ministers, presidents, etc.) will use more private diplomatic channels to explain their views.

Jean Melissen, in the first part of his book *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*⁴⁵ and Brian Hocking⁴⁶ seek to clarify the concept of public diplomacy and evaluate the diplomatic significance in the current international environment. They conclude that the new public diplomacy for both is a part of the global policy systems. Melissen offers an understanding of the new public diplomacy in terms of current developments. He recognises that traditionally there has been a connection between the practice of cultural relations and diplomacy but currently

⁴⁴ Abdul-Wahab Al-Kayali. *Diplomacy Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 2, pp. 658-62.

⁴⁵ Jan Melissen, 2005. "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice". Ed. Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*. (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd: London).

⁴⁶ Brian Hocking, 2005. "Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy". Ed. Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*, (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd: London).

there is considerable overlap as governments place great emphasis on connecting with “the public”. For example, in their discussions with the “Islamic World” the British government no longer confines its relations to the diplomats of other countries but,

“talks through Middle Eastern Policy with moderate domestic Muslim organizations . Both public diplomacy and public affairs are directly affected by the forces of globalization and the recent revolution in communication with the public has become an increasingly complex challenge for foreign ministries.”⁴⁷

During a British Council conference, a senior diplomat raised the issue that citizens are no longer prepared to listen to their governments, or the governments of other countries, instead they want governments to listen to them. This is the face of a new public diplomacy that is developing, particularly in the light of the information revolution, where a single ‘Tweet’ or a post on a social media website can have far-reaching effects, and the promotion of ideas can be propagated and catch on quickly. However, in turn the communication in this new public diplomacy becomes increasingly one way, for:

“The crux becomes clear in Jay Black’s description of propaganda: Where as creative communication accepts pluralism and displays expectations that its receivers should conduct further investigations of its observations, allegations and conclusions, propaganda does not appear to do so.”⁴⁸

Hocking builds on the multi-threaded avenues that make up public diplomacy in his discussion of “soft power”, when he suggests that reliance on strength and military “hard power” have lost their effect in a globalised world where “factors such as culture, ideas and values” are of greater importance “which [...] encourages others to

⁴⁷ Melissen, “The New Public Diplomacy”, p. 13.

⁴⁸ Melissen, “The New Public Diplomacy”, pp. 18-9.

want what you want.” Hocking concludes that such cultural diplomacy began after the end of the Second World War, where;

“[T]he power of [...] economic attraction, becomes addictive and hard to escape from over time, both Britain and the US have been able to deploy this variant of power play. After 1945 the US built its sticky power on the pillars of free trade and the Bretton Woods institutions, together with the reality that the economic well-being of other countries was linked to that of the US.”⁴⁹

The link between the end of the Second World War and the dawn of ‘soft’ power is a compelling one. After the end of the War, the world was in disarray, Europe was shattered, as was the Far East, and the impact of the War spread far and wide. Yet America remained unscathed, it was not subjected to the heavy bombing that Europe and Japan suffered and its infrastructure remained intact. Culturally it bounced back very quickly, and there was a feeling of envy around the world. After years of remaining insular, America felt its way around the world. Foreign nations wanted what America had, but at the same time they did not want to be America, or as Hocking explains, nations might want to “adopt aspects of American culture while resisting global policies emanating from Washington.”

“This phenomenon, suggests Ferguson, is rooted in historical precedent: “[...] it was precisely from the most Anglicized parts of the British Empire that nationalist movement sprang.”⁵⁰

At the same time the use of “hard” power, especially when being used by the US, has had the result of alienating parts of the globe against the US. This can be seen as a problem for the United States. There is a link between the successful deployment

⁴⁹ Hocking, “Rethinking the ‘New’ Public Diplomacy”, p. 34.

⁵⁰ Melissen, “The New Public Diplomacy”.

of hard or coercive power and soft power [for example] among American business leaders that anti-US sentiment following events in Iraq is threatening their interest.⁵¹

Despite the emergence of soft power as an avenue of policy making and cultural diplomacy, Cynthia P. Schneider believes that cultural diplomacy is an excellent example of soft power, but is too often marginalised as being excessively soft and far from policy issues,⁵² while Wally Olins, in his discussion of the reputation of state administration stresses the idea that states are always trying to create and improve their reputations to enhance their loyalty internally and to extend their influence externally. He also distinguishes a number of areas where nations compete with each other directly, as the administration of a state's reputation is very necessary. But he points out that any such gains should be measured in the long term and cannot be measured as short term gains.⁵³

Finally, Shaun Riordan considers public diplomacy is part of an emerging model of recent diplomacy and it requires a co-operative approach based on dialogue. Such an argument is compelling when one considers the building of nations and the struggle against global terrorism that we are seeing in the second decade of the twenty-first century.⁵⁴

From this evolving field, it is evident that public diplomacy, concerning ideas and values to large extent, and the involvement of non-government parties is

⁵¹ Hocking, "Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy", p. 33.

⁵² Cynthia P. Schneider, 2005. "Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy that Works". Ed. Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*, (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd: London).

⁵³ Wally Olins, 2005. "Making a National Brand". Ed. Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*, (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd: London).

⁵⁴ Shaun Riordan, 2005. "Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?". Ed. Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*, (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd: London).

considered one of the best ways to develop cultural relations.⁵⁵ In addition, there are some common denominators between cultural relations and the reputation management of the state, including the aims of public diplomacy revolving around the broadcast of information and ideas to other nations to change or enhance their attitudes toward the state. Both look to communicate with foreign audiences in the context of bilateral or multilateral relations resulting in the creation of cultural diplomacy.

Therefore, the task of cultural diplomacy task for state reputation management requires great effort and coordination between the culture of the state and public diplomacy. It should be executed and carried out at the beginning by initiatives from specialist practitioners in public diplomacy, then all state forces can be employed to participate in and be involved showing the culture of the country in order to promote its good image. For this reason, the researcher of this thesis believes that culture and diplomacy are twins, and that one promotes interest in the other to foreign ministries, where culture puts public diplomatic effort into force and are allowed to take effect in the international environment through what may be called “cultural diplomacy.”

From the perspective that public diplomacy is the executive tool of foreign policies, Mohammad Niamma suggests that its activity is concerned with three major dimensions:⁵⁶

- The political dimension of cooperation between the parties of international community;

⁵⁵ Melissen, “The New Public Diplomacy”.

⁵⁶ Mohammad Niamma, 2010. *The Cultural Diplomacy and its Role in Promote the Foreign Policy Decision*, (University of Babylon: Iraq).

- The economic dimension, when the relationship has developed between nations to become interdependence on living needs as a form of international system;
- The cultural dimension, when the sense of people and the ruling elites is expressed that their culture and innovations are the achievements of human civilization and part of the added power of state that contributes to the strengthening of its foreign policy and the achievement of international status.

This description is different from the concept of cultural relations, which forego cultural diplomacy in terms of the implementation of cultural exchange processes by mechanic movement and retail associated with certain exclusive sectors, whereas, cultural diplomacy is associated in a comprehensive and systematic plan by foreign policy makers for the state.

Niama illustrates that the first cultural diplomacy institutions within governmental framework and structure emerged in France in the mid-nineteenth century, followed by Germany then Britain, which founded the British Council in 1934, and the United States which set up its official cultural programme in 1938. Then followed many other countries around the world. This became the foundation of cultural relations in the formation of foreign ministries and the selection, through media and art, of scholars as ambassadors for their countries. This was traditionally commonplace, such as the Saudi ambassadors Ghazi Al-Gosaibi to Britain and Ziad Drees in UNESCO, which was established by the United Nations in 1945 and until now coordinates international cultural activity.

Culture formed an important element of the foreign policy of states, which reflect the communities character and identity. Its presence was determined by a

common objective of elements such as language, religion, history and customs, which have a clear potential impact in the general behaviour of the state in the drafting of resolutions that organise its relations with other countries. In turn these interact with each other, and have the outcome of overlapping interests. Following the information, media and communication revolution that has changed spatial and temporal concepts around the world, this has had the result of bypassing the traditional concepts of sovereignty and has made the state less able to control the flow of ideas and money into and out of it.⁵⁷

In this context, a cultural programmed penetration and breakthrough became a part of foreign policy objectives, which was adopted by some states to support their political and economic goals, and cultural diplomacy institutions have the responsibility of implementing and coordinating activities on the ground. Countries should seek cultural and diplomatic links for the advancement of a target to be culturally inclusive due to political and national aspects. The co-existent approach does not mean that the conflict in the social movement can be cancelled, but it does mean that violent methods should be replaced with peaceful methods, respectful dialogue and public opinion.

Through the analysis of cultural diplomacy patterns regards aims, according to the vision presented here, it does find that countries are divided into two types:

- The state that tries to protect its cultural heritage and prevent it from extinction;
- The state that tries to export its culture and social, political and economic values.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

The two aims could meet in one policy, linked to foreign policy goals in which the state seeks to achieve its aims with the extent of the power factor at their disposal, taking them out of the theoretical realm into the practical reality.

Therefore, the development of cultural diplomacy institutions in all its patterns and forms, to express the policy countries through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or through the National Council for culture, includes all the cultural institutions which the country considers may be the indispensable, and a factor of strength underlying the state, which should take advantage, especially in the absence or weakness of other forces and states, or military and economic weakness, as is the case in Iraq.

It should benefit from the support of the international community to develop and activate this aspect, which according to scientific methodology takes into account the selection of appropriate methods and cadres, which would reflect the prestigious position occupied by the national culture among global cultures.

Many countries – such as Saudi Arabia recently – seek to promote global understanding in many ways, including cultural diplomacy. There are countries with a history in this area and it continues in its job, under the description that culture is a real bridge between peoples, like the Saudi relationship with Britain. It is easy to find a lot of cultural centres that deal and specialise with teaching languages and cultural affairs spread around the world, including the French Cultural Centre and the Spanish Cervantes Institute, the German Goethe Institute and the British Council, and others, The last only has three branches in Saudi Arabia for each sex. UNESCO also plays a large role in cultural tasks at the global level, which we will see through this thesis.

Some authors have a different opinion. For example, Ali Al-Omari sees the absence of any Arab cultural diplomacy,⁵⁸ when he asks: “What about Arab countries?” Do they put culture in the list of their priorities and include the meaning as a bridge for cultural exchange and understanding between peoples? Al-Omari thinks that many Arab countries claim cultural diplomacy, but that it does not happen on the ground in many cases. And this is not through a lack of experience, the policies and visions of Arab countries show the importance of cultural diplomacy, but these are still limited for the most part. On the other hand, he believes many Arab countries see culture as being on the margin in the relationship between people and takes some cultural activities as ”decorations” on the sidelines of diplomacy.

While some countries consider that cultural communication is one of its strategies and it works on the cultural presence through literature, theatre, cinema, music, arts and intellectual events, such as the UK, other countries, including Arab countries consider cultural communication incomplete and ineffective, with the exception of individual initiatives here or there, such as the United Arab Emirates, but in general there is no Arabic strategy toward it.

“Other countries have also matched their commitment to cultural diplomacy with significant funding. In a recent survey of cultural diplomacy in nine countries, the United States ranked last in per capita spending, lagging behind not only France and the United Kingdom but also Sweden and Singapore. France leads in spending on cultural diplomacy, with an annual budget of over one billion dollars.”⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Ali Al-Omari, 2014. *The absence of Arabic Cultural Diplomacy*.

⁵⁹ Schneider, “Culture Communicates”, p. 158.

As Schneider argues, “Understanding the environment, a pre-requisite for effective diplomatic work, is as important for culture as for politics.”⁶⁰ It is possible to also argue that public diplomacy is the non-official practice of the diplomatic mission, or the exercise of organisation and development of relations between nations by informal means.⁶¹ The concept of public diplomacy in the current era is an activity a country undertakes to improve public opinion, outside of official channels, such as the work of embassies. Public diplomacy involves using other resources, relations, and contacts such as global unions, professional and student unions, youth and women’s organisations, parliaments and parties, sports teams and popular arts, and other indigenous non-governmental organisations that have friendly relations with parallel organisations around the world.⁶²

From the perspective of Alaly al-Sadeq, in his book, *International Cultural Relations*, public diplomacy can work in an integrated manner with official diplomacy to minimise conflict, disputes and political rivalries in order to create harmonious links between states and peoples.⁶³ He concludes, not surprisingly, that the developing world is most interested in popular diplomacy, because of the economic, media, political and cultural dominance of the developed world.⁶⁴

Cultural Diplomacy is defined as the “exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual

⁶⁰ Cynthia P. Schneider, 2003. *Diplomacy that Works: ‘Best Practice’ in Cultural Diplomacy*. (Centre for Art and Culture, Georgetown University), p. 4.

⁶¹ Giles Scott-Smith, 2008. *Network of Empire: the US State Department’s Foreign Leader Program in the Netherlands, France, and Britain 1950-70*, (P.I.E. Peter Lang: Brussels), pp. 25-26.

⁶² Nicholas Cull, 2008. *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy 1945-1989*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge), pp. 1-7.

⁶³ Alaly Al-Sadeq, 2006. *International Cultural Relations: Political and Legal Study*. Issue 1, (Office of University Publications: Algeria).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

understanding.”⁶⁵ However, this notion is insufficient to address its broader implications and multi-dimensional aspects. Due to the growing importance of cultural dimensions in analysing the ever-increasing complexity of international affairs, cultural diplomacy emphasises the influence that transnational flows have on shaping national identities and foreign perceptions. It covers cultural relations, cultural co-operation, public diplomacy, and even propaganda.

International cultural relations can be seen as the executive tool of current public diplomacy and this research looks at the concept of cultural relations from the perspective of the concept of ‘cultural diplomacy’. As Schneider puts it, “Effective cultural diplomacy initiatives can be created out of whole cloth, or they can build on extant programs, exhibitions, or performances. Most important, though, is that they resonate with the local population. Sometimes a positive impact is predictable, other times not.”⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Rhiannon Vickers, 2004. “The New Public Diplomacy: Britain and Canada Compared”, *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, (Political Studies Association: London), vol. 6 (2) pp.182–94.

⁶⁶ Schneider, *Diplomacy that Works*.

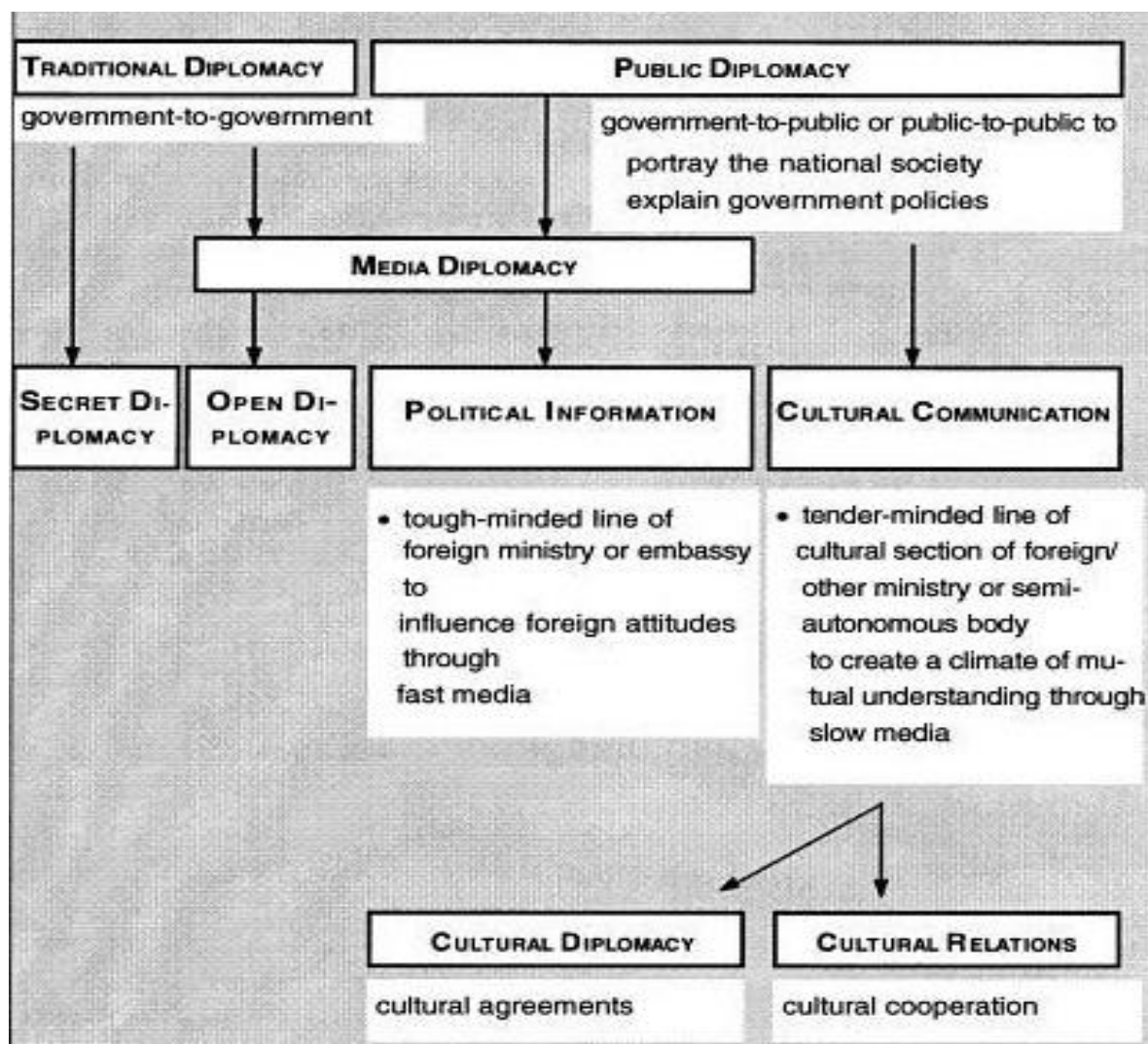


Figure 1: System of Public Diplomacy.⁶⁷

1.2.1 The 1967 Cultural Co-Operation Agreement

The Convention of Cultural Relations was born out of public diplomacy. On 23 November 1975 in Riyadh, officials from the UK and the KSA signed the first Agreement on Cultural and Technical Co-operation.⁶⁸ Although the agreement was signed in 1975, the title stated “1967”, based on the date that negotiations started.

⁶⁷ Carl H. Botan and Vincent Hazleton, eds., 2009. *Public Relations Theory II*. (Taylor & Francis; New York, London), p. 386.

⁶⁸ Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on Cultural and Technical Co-operation: Riyadh, 23 November 1975. Treaty Series No.22 (1976). Ref: FCO 13/1835.

This Agreement, which is still in effect, was intended to strengthen friendly relations and to increase cultural and technical co-operation between the two countries.

The Agreement includes 13 articles, the first of which introduces and defines the terms “territory” and “country” in relation to the KSA and the UK, and the expression “nationals” in relation to the two governments. The second article deals with the role of both governments in encouraging “technical and cultural co-operation between the two countries through visits by university professors, instructors and persons engaged in scientific and technical research”, and through shared “training programmes and courses of vocational training in the other country”.

Furthermore, this article promotes the “expansion” of studies of the language and literature of the other nation in universities and educational institutions in both countries. Finally, it encourages the establishment of projects to ensure the protection of the heritage and civilization of the two countries.

The most relevant articles for this thesis are articles III, IV, V and VI, which oblige the two parties to stimulate their nations to “a better understanding of the civilization and culture of the other country” as stated in article III. This article suggests five methods to achieve that goal with the proviso that efforts should not be limited to these methods. In summary, they cover the following: the interchange of scientific, technical, educational and cultural publications, materials and equipment; the arrangement of exhibitions; the interchange of media programmes, and “cultural, educational and scientific recordings and films”; visits by scientific experts between the two countries; and “translation and publication of the scientific, cultural and artistic works of the other country”.

In Article IV, the Agreement called on the two governments to encourage, by all feasible means, the nationals of the other country engaged in research and study

within their own territories to continue carrying out their study or research. In addition, “to make available all reasonable facilities in the various fields to the nationals of the other country wishing to engage in archaeological exploration within the regulations laid down or, where suitably qualified, to complete their education or training in the universities, scientific institutions, factories, laboratories and institutes for applied arts and science within its territories.”

Article V states that the “Contracting Governments” agree to support “close co-operation between the professional organizations and the educational, scientific and cultural institutions within their respective territories.” Meanwhile article VI, requires the two countries to make a commitment to “facilitate visits by scientists, research scholars and students from the other country to the museums, libraries and educational, scientific and cultural organizations or institutions within its territory.”

With regard to the implementation of the terms of the agreement, article VII dictated that each country should “designate appropriate persons or organizations to ensure the fulfilment of the provisions of this Agreement and to meet once annually, alternately in the KSA and in the UK” to discuss the progress in meeting these goals.

Article VIII gives details of advantages to be gained by the KSA, a developing country, from the UK, a developed country. For instance, at the request of the KSA, the UK should employ their best efforts to “assist the Government of the KSA in securing places in their institutions and organisations for the training of suitably qualified Saudi citizens”, and provide “scholarships, fellowships and training courses in the UK.” This would subsequently prove to be a key basis of the bilateral cultural relationship, as would another aspect of the clause that called on Britain to carry out “technical assistance projects in Saudi” and provide “advisers and experts, subject to their availability and to the agreement of expenses that may be borne by each.”

Article IX states that British experts, consultants, and “representatives of the British Council and the members of its staff who will be appointed by the UK and will come to the KSA under the terms of this Agreement privileges similar to those enjoyed by United Nations (UN).” In addition, “All Saudi officials who are charged with the implementation of this Agreement and who come to Britain under the terms of this Agreement” should enjoy the same privileges.

Article X stated that each government had agreed to facilitate within the limits of its legislation the importation into its territory of equipment necessary for the purposes of this Agreement. Article XI stated that the two governments would “conclude separate Agreements to define the details of the programmes of co-operation in the various cultural, scientific and educational fields which are prepared by persons or specialist organisations.”

The last two articles, XII and XIII, dictated that this agreement should not “affect the obligations of the nationals of either country to comply with the laws and regulations in force in the territory of either Contracting Government.” Finally this Agreement would be valid on the date of its signature, would remain valid for four years, and would continue to be enforced unless one of the parties were to withdraw in the last six months of the Treaty.

This agreement can be viewed as a major business transaction, with both governments spending a huge amount of time and effort in delivering a document that was capable of addressing the complexity of the issues that encompassed the bilateral cultural relationship. Moreover, the fact that it took eight years to complete shows that the differences between the two nations that needed to be bridged in this sphere were both complex and varied. For example issues like the language barrier, and different interpretations of religious tolerance and understanding and lifestyle choice.

On one level these complex differences meant that the agreement ultimately failed to live up to the expectations of both sides. The deterioration and decline of the political situation on various occasions before the 1970s, as addressed subsequently, led to this agreement being completed late in the bilateral relationship, thus resulting in many opportunities for the development of cultural relations and business opportunities being missed. Included here were the development of special family relations between the two royal families, ties linked to the Hajj and Umrah seasons, and trade and investments to provide for the necessary and appropriate solutions to enhance the relation between the two cultures.

1.2.2 The Euro-Arab Dialogue

Ahmad Dajjani argues that the initiative to launch a Euro-Arab Dialogue (EAD) was suggested by the Arabs themselves.⁶⁹ Although the 1973 oil embargo on the US and Holland was met with public outcry, the Arabs, far from willing to inflict serious damage to the European economy on which they largely depended, instead wanted the international community to show urgency in solving the protracted Arab-Israeli conflict, which was diverting their attention from more pressing needs, exhausting their financial resources, and hindering their development.⁷⁰

The Arab initiative was released during the Arab Summit in Algeria in November 1973, and was meant to reach out to Europe in a sign of good will.⁷¹ The Algiers summit mandated four Arab ministers to make the offer of “dialogue” to the European Summit which was planned to take place in Copenhagen in December 1973. The Arab objective was to ensure European support for a just solution of the

⁶⁹ Ahmad S. Dajjani, 1976. *Euro-Arab Dialogue: an Arab Point of View* (Arabic), (Anglo- Egyptian Library: Cairo), p. 260.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Bichara Khader, 2013. *The European Union and the Palestinian Question (1957-2013): Soft Diplomacy and Hard Realities*, (Louvain-La-Neuve: Belgium), pp. 6-7.

Arab-Israeli conflict and to move on to create a new atmosphere for economic and cultural cooperation.⁷²

According to John Sakkas the Arab initiative came as a surprise to the Europeans, who as a result agreed to proceed with establishing Euro-Arab Dialogue.⁷³ According to Rory Miller, in June 1974 the nine member strong European Economic Community designed an aide-memoire to the member states of the Arab League requesting their partnership in a new co-operation plan for Euro-Arab Dialogue (EAD)⁷⁴. France took the credit for initiating the concept of that dialogue in February of that year. Then the Community Foreign Ministers of Europe approved the plan set out by the French government, and the plan was finally endorsed by the Nine on 31 July 1974 in Paris.⁷⁵

Many academics and researchers have noted that a coordinating group was established from senior official from member's states of the Arab League and EEC charged with the aim of moving the programme forward.⁷⁶ Moreover, the Arab-Israeli dispute and its ramifications on the peace settlement process, pan-Arabism, and inter-Arab discord cannot be viewed as separate factors since they interact with and mutually reinforce one another.⁷⁷

Another element was added by the view expressed by Lakhdar Brahimi in which he asserted the oil embargo following the 1973 War triggered the French

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ John Sakkas, n.d. *The Western "Alliance" and the Middle East in the early 1970s*, (Academia.edu).

⁷⁴ Interview with Christopher Mayhew, MP, quoted in Rory Miller, 2014. "The Euro-Arab Dialogue and the Limits of European External Intervention in the Middle East, 1974-77", *Middle Eastern Studies*, (Routledge: London), vol. 50 (6), pp. 936-59.

⁷⁵ Lakhdar Brahimi and Dr. W. Dekker, 1986. *Who is Speaking to Whom in the Euro-Arab Dialogue: Euro-Arab Dialogue Lecturers II*, (The Luftia Rabbani Foundation; The Hague), p. 15.

⁷⁶ Albert Bressand and Thierry de Montbrial, 1979. "The Ups and Downs of Mutual Relevance", *Daedalus, Old Faiths and New Doubts: The European Predicament*, (American Academy of Arts & Sciences: Cambridge, MA, USA) vol. 108 (2), p. 127.

⁷⁷ FCO Memo, 13 September 1974, p. 2.

initiative.⁷⁸ To take a case in point, Rory Miller states the sky-rocketing oil price that followed the War subsided immediately in March 1974.⁷⁹ He illustrates a rather profound case when oil was used as a weapon in late 1973 that resulted in domestic political upheaval and severe economic recession in the whole of Europe and North America.⁸⁰ It goes without saying that the path the European Commission took was to push the EAD programme to give an overwhelmingly positive picture to the public that dialogue would encourage the Arabs to take a more moderate view of Europe.⁸¹

Salah al-Hejailan argues that Euro-Arab Dialogue should also communicate culturally on the level of shared values. There were also obstacles that needed to be overcome, such as understanding each culture and better communication to eliminate prejudices against each other's heritage and values.⁸² Moreover, when the West was faced with an oil embargo they were very eager to engage with the Middle East for dialogue, including cultural and scientific cooperation but this enthusiastic approach receded after the 1977 agreement.⁸³ Undoubtedly, the Western media were largely responsible for giving negative coverage to the public by accentuating some unsubstantiated issues in Arab societies.⁸⁴

The FCO literature on the issue of the Euro-Arab Dialogue illustrates the opportunity both sides missed to create formidable north-south relations. The reason why the UK, the country that would have benefitted the most from this initiative, took such a low-key role is unclear and incomprehensible. The price paid by both Saudi citizens and their British counterparts to live with that policy is prominent more

⁷⁸ Brahimi and Dekker, *Who is Speaking to Whom in the Euro-Arab Dialogue*.

⁷⁹ Miller, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue" p.936.

⁸⁰ Ibid, pp. 937-8.

⁸¹ EAD-Committee of Permanent Representatives, 19 June 1975, (BNA/FCO 30/3031).

⁸² Salah Al-Hejailan, 1988. "The Future of Euro-Arab Dialogue", *Arab Law Quarterly*, (BRILL: Leiden), vol. 4 (2), pp. 118-119.

⁸³ Ibid., p.121.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.123.

evident. There is a real feeling that the UK, which had a considerable history with countries in the Middle East, gave up its role to other European states such as Belgium, Holland and the Republic of Ireland. Most Saudi academics and researchers agree that there was a wide divergence of factors which may explain why the two Kingdoms, which had on numerous occasions emphasised cultural exchange as the only way forward for real change in society, decided to abandon the project from the start. There could be some reasons which are not mutually exclusive, but collectively they dragged on the issue of cultural exchange for 40 years.

This section examines Britain's relationship with the Arab world, in general, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, in particular, during the 1970s and 1980s in the fields of scientific research, technical cooperation, and technical and vocational training. An attempt is made to identify the reasons behind the lack of interest of both countries to utilise their potential, willingness and capabilities to take forward the conducive conditions created by the Euro-Arab initiatives in the aftermath of the 1973 War.⁸⁵

The wide and deep implications of nine European countries (the UK, Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Italy, Denmark and the Republic of Ireland, which will be referred to as the Nine) to begin dialogue and negotiations with the Arab League was significant. The Arab countries, who came out of 1973 with little dignity after the defeat in the Arab-Israeli war, were trying to build bridges with the West by initiating the dialogue.⁸⁶ The Nine created the Middle East Experts to provide technical assistance to Arab countries, who held their first meeting on 4

⁸⁵ Confidential Report, *Proposal for A Euro-Arab Dialogue*, 02 November 1976.

⁸⁶ Dajjani, *Euro-Arab Dialogue*, p. 260.

September, 1974.⁸⁷ Shortly after, on 10 September, another meeting was held where the representatives of the Nine agreed to send an emissary to the Middle East to facilitate this huge task and provide technical assistance.

From the outset, the UK did not take this opportunity of technical co-operation very seriously. While the British welcomed the French role in sending a fact-finding mission to meet with the Arab League Secretariat in Cairo, despite the reservations of both Belgium and the Danish, the view expressed about that mission according to an FCO memo was rather pessimistic; “it was designed to keep the pot boiling with the Arabs rather than to be a serious practical undertaking.”⁸⁸

As Middle East and North African countries are major suppliers of the world’s energy, and have a unique geographical position for the transit of goods and oil throughout the world, their core interests can be defined and articulated only in social development through education and training.⁸⁹ Given these realities, and the geopolitical imperatives the Arab League, it is not surprising to see dialogue pursued after 1973 in a policy of co-operation with the Nine based on mutual respect and understanding of each other’s needs.

After several meetings, both the Arab League and the Nine realised it was essential that the areas of assistance should include scientific research and development, technological assistance and vocational and technical training. In this context, Euro-Arab relations also included opportunities for developing nuclear energy for peaceful applications. It did so by considering three main themes: First and foremost, establishing a foundation for programmes of economic cooperation in

⁸⁷ FCO memo, 13 September 1974.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸⁹ Jean-Philippe Cueille, 2012. *Panorama 2012: The Oil and Gas Producing Countries of North Africa and the Middle East*, (IFP Energies nouvelles: Paris).

which there was an effective flow of advanced European technology into the Arab countries enhances the level of engagement between European and Arabic people, secondly cultural exchange, and thirdly labour and social programmes.⁹⁰

Experts from both sides agreed on the need to design an integrated rural development policy through education and training. The proposed measures took practical and straightforward actions within a reasonable timespan. There was a sound readiness within the Arab League secretariat and its instruments for such co-operation, but one of the problems facing the European Experts in the field of cultural and technical cooperation was a lack of knowledge of the real needs of Arab communities.⁹¹

Although both sides agreed on the basic principles of investing in enhancing people's lives through education and technical training, they were sceptical of diverting the available financial resources to the cultural and technical schemes proposed by the hand-picked experts from both sides. The Arab side tried cautiously to avoid discussions that turned collective projects into bilateral efforts under the Arab League framework. Therefore, the chances of European governments producing a tangible accomplishment of the objectives stated in the joint memorandum were diminished. From 1975 onwards, the Arab League was aware of the difficulties ahead when the signs of a new relationship between Israel and Egypt was beginning to emerge, which had a profound impact on developments in the Dialogue, especially with the leaders of Arab-nationalist countries such as Saddam of Iraq, Gadhafi of Libya and Assad of Syria.

⁹⁰ "Cultural Differences between Arabic and European", (Sunset Oman, n.d.). Accessed on 17 February 2015 <http://www.sunsetoman.com/en/sultanate-oman/why-oman/culture.html>

⁹¹ FCO Report on Scientific and Technological Cooperation, Cultural, Labour and Social Questions, 14 June 1975.

In one of those meetings, the British representative Rodric Braithwaite suggested that any department was free to put forward an expert to attend the next meeting with the Arabs if he was ready to defend the interests of his department.⁹² More to the point, scepticism was common, which was apparent in a meeting held in Dublin on 20 June 1975, when Mr Braithwaite was exploring the possibility of discussing European tactics before the next meeting with the Arabs. The British were not forthcoming when the Arabs in general, and the Gulf States in particular, were ready for cultural and technical cooperation, despite those countries being suffused with religion, and the need for major political, social and education policies to receive religious ratification to win grass-roots support.

This passive approach to the initiative was also clear from the start. The European side was also frustrated when the Arabs tried to postpone their scheduled meeting because the EEC had signed an agreement with Israel on 11 May 1975, although Arab moderates, including Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates, managed to influence some more radical countries to continue with the timetable of meetings.⁹³

As far as scientific and technical cooperation was concerned, the two sides agreed on the formation of an ad hoc group to take all necessary steps for this particular demand from the Arabs. For all Arab countries, moderates or radicals, the main priority was to make every effort to increase European education and training in all fields for Arab students and labour. The Arabs also requested access to a scientific data bank including cooperation in the energy sector and in nuclear energy for peaceful applications. Nevertheless, the Europeans were not keen to deliver the

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

transfer of technology and rather moved to other matters such as trade and financial cooperation.⁹⁴

The Euro-Arab cooperation provided ample evidence that all cultures can exist simultaneously, and political differences between parts of the Arab world and Europe during the 1960s and 1970s should not hijack the development process. The ad hoc group created to deal with scientific cooperation offered a concrete programme for its way forward. Though many factors contributed to under education in the Arab world, the group realised that in order to transfer European technology, it must first train personnel at all levels to incorporate such technology.

While levels of training in each of those countries varied dramatically, one objective remained constant: European assistance in advancing universities and other education institutions needed to be prioritized to lay the foundation for those institutions to be more open to accommodate advanced scientific research.⁹⁵ The Nine also decided to establish new training centres in Arab countries for specialised training to advance their knowledge and expertise.⁹⁶

During the meetings, some Arab countries presented lists of fields which they considered vital for training, exchange of academic staff, and cultural and archaeological exchange. The Arabs also requested special training and assistance in the fields of archives and documentation, and supplying the libraries of Arab universities with reference books and publications. Furthermore, it was agreed to devote a great deal of research effort on particular areas, such as solar energy, geothermal energy, nuclear energy and radio-biology. According to diplomatic reports, the Arabs expressed a great interest in desalination technology to improve the

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ FCO Memo, Euro-Arab Dialogue, 04 August 1975.

⁹⁶ FCO Memo, H.M. Evan, Cultural Relations Department, 25 September 1975.

drinking water capacity in some of those countries with a shortage of natural rainfall. This was set aside in favour of bilateral cooperation, in which European countries would offer the technology to those Arab countries to improve their water resources.⁹⁷ A strong determinant of the Nine-Arab cooperation was the cultural aspect. Seminars of experts on cultural relations between both civilisations and their role in the contemporary world were suggested. The implementation of those projects were once again left for adequate preparation by top experts on both sides. It is worth noting that alongside this there was the synchronised publication of a collection of books, cooperation and coordination in the fields of journalism, archaeology, youth exchanges and Euro-Arab sports activities. Another thread of cooperation involved supporting translations of Arab books into different European languages, and vice versa, and promoting cultural values through the presence of European experts and lecturers in the Arab world as well as Arab students in Europe.⁹⁸

What added an extra stimulus to cultural cooperation was the idea of establishing associations between the universities of both sides, including joint meetings of the conference of European Rectors and Arab Rectors. This went further with the desire to establish institutions for Arab culture and the Arabic language at different European universities. The implication was clear; the exchanges of expert visitors to study and teach in respective educational institutions, so Arab universities would be able to carry out taskforce-led education programmes to combat illiteracy.⁹⁹ The cultural co-operation in particular envisaged a far bigger role for Arabs, with a more boundless expeditionary force in arts, sciences, education and tourism. The Arabs expressed in those meetings that they considered cultural and educational

⁹⁷ League of Arab States, General Secretariat, Rome, 22-24 July 1975.

⁹⁸ FCO Memo, 01 September 1975.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

exchanges as an indispensable part of the work of the group to have a “civilizational dialogue.”¹⁰⁰

The European side suggested practical measures to enhance primary school education, because students spend most of their educational years in this particular stage. They identified and analysed what they saw as being wrong in the Arab primary education system and schools. Since such deficiencies were also cited by the Arab experts, the criticisms were quickly accepted and absorbed without question and the Arab counterparts showed a great respect for raising those points. In a rare display of objectivity, a member of Arab delegates suggested the idea of teaching European languages in general, and the English language in particular, in primary schools. Further, the Arabs argued that European and Arab universities and educational centres should recognise each other's degrees. For their part the Europeans did not receive this suggestion with great enthusiasm, since it was not easy to adopt by European universities, and the Arabs quickly dropped it.¹⁰¹

According to an FCO memo of 04 August 1975,¹⁰² the Arabs were very talented individuals who were “well informed, highly intelligent and consistent in their argument deliberation.” The ad hoc group set aside a few subjects for further consultation, such as training, exchange of university staff, access to data bank, collaboration in energy research and power production, including nuclear power for peaceful purposes, radio-biology and desalination of water. The scale of optimism on agreed issues outweighed those topics left for the next Euro-Arab meeting.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² FCO Memo, 04 August 1975.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

In spite of this Agreement, some official government efforts to develop KSA-UK cultural relations failed during the 1970s, principally due to the lack of organisational structures capable of dealing with such a complex and delicate task, the lack of co-ordination between various government departments, a lack of a strategic approach for implementation, representation and a flexible evaluation process.

All this meant that essential factors were missing in different stages of the process. Furthermore, these efforts failed due to the lack of necessary financial resources and legal means. Regretfully, there was disregard in this Agreement for the changes occurring within Saudi society in general and in the role of civil society institutions, as well as popular participation, in particular, over the period it covered.

Most importantly, these efforts failed because of the absence of a comprehensive long-term mutual perception of the best way to develop cultural relations. This prevented the development of an integrated long-term strategy in the cultural sphere.

Other important explanations for the limits of this Agreement include the obvious inconsistency between the interests and needs of both countries in both the political and cultural spheres, and lack of “similarity” in many areas – such as school student exchanges, artistic endeavour, and science – that made it difficult to develop “companion” bonds, a key factor in the long-term development of strong cultural relations and effective cultural diplomacy.

The purpose of this description and analysis of the Agreement is to set out the official principles and fundamentals, as well as challenges upon which the cultural relationship of the two countries under study were built. However, it should be noted that the final version of this Agreement was preceded by a number of official meetings and negotiations between British and Saudis officials, in order to discuss

potential models and to produce an agreement designed to ensure the success of the treaty, and therefore, the success of the cultural relations between the two countries in the longer term. As such, it is vital to examine how the Anglo-Saudi relationship evolved up to 1967, the year negotiations on this Agreement commenced.

1.3 A Brief Summary of the Beginnings of British-Saudi Cultural and Scientific Exchanges

“Despite its prominent position on the world stage in recent years, Saudi Arabia remains a closed and largely unknown country. The bare outlines of its history have been recounted a number of times, [...] Still, the process by which a minor family of the central Najd gained dominion over much of Arabia, lost it twice, and then gained it again, plus a prominent position on the international stage, has not been examined adequately. Details of the early period are scarce and often contradictory. [...] Neither Western accounts [...], or modern Saudi renditions [...] are conclusive, because of the lack of written evidence.”¹⁰⁴

“Seldom can Britain have exercised full diplomatic relations with a king and country about which she knew so little.”¹⁰⁵ Clive Leatherdale’s point above is well made. In 1915, Najd, the core territory of what later became Saudi Arabia, had become a British associate and received a monthly British subsidy of £5,000 GPB (withdrawn in 1924). Hejaz at that time, ruled by King Sharif, had a similar arrangement and received a monthly subsidy of £200,000 GPB. Leatherdale notes that, although Saudi Arabia was an independent state, Britain had no diplomatic relations with the country until three years after its recognition in the Treaty of Jeddah in 1927.¹⁰⁶ Thereafter, in

¹⁰⁴ Peterson, “The Arabian Peninsula in Modern Times”, pp. 1435-1449.

¹⁰⁵ Leatherdale, “*Britain and Saudi Arabia 1925-1939*”, , p. 413.

¹⁰⁶ Alexander Melamid, 1986. “Review of ‘Britain and Saudi Arabia 1925-1939: The Imperial Oasis, by Clive Leatherdale’”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge), vol. 18 (4), pp.518-519. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/163480>

1932, Ibn Saud conquered Hejaz, in order to constitute one kingdom; Britain suggested that this new state should be named Saudi Arabia.¹⁰⁷

At this time, communications inside Saudi Arabia were slow and difficult. Moreover, the British delegation and any non-Muslims were generally not permitted to travel outside of Jeddah, one of the more hospitable and open-minded cities in Saudi Arabia.

In 1932, telegraph messages from Jeddah to Riyadh, where the King resided, were sent via Bahrain, and replies could not be expected in less than three weeks. This problem aggravated the people of Saudi Arabia who wanted to communicate via the British legation in Jeddah, instead of through its own representative in London.

Consequently, the British Representative in Jeddah gained new responsibilities as a policy maker, rather than as a diplomat executing policy.¹⁰⁸ In 1939, at the outbreak of World War II, Britain, through a mandate from the League of Nations, had the right to deal with the foreign affairs of associate states wherein there were British agents or advisors. The Arab countries covered by this included Yemen, Kuwait, Egypt, Jordan, Qatar, Iraq, and Bahrain. However, British control was not exercised in the KSA.¹⁰⁹

Britain's interest in the Middle East was more extensive in comparison to that of the other Great Powers.¹¹⁰ Towards the end of World War II it became clear that Britain would attempt to exercise a predominant role in the region. According to Tareq Ismael,

“A major element of its strategy [...] could be seen in its attempts to foster a British-influenced league of Arab

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Paul Aarts, and Gerd Nonneman, eds., 2005. *Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs*, (New York University Press: New York).

states; such an Arab league did in fact emerge during the war, consisting of; Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen.”¹¹¹

Its colonial history meant that Britain at that time had a bad reputation in the eyes of Arabs in general. For their part, the Saudis certainly perceived Britain in a negative light. Furthermore, the Muslim Brotherhood – “*Ikhwan*” – movement in Saudi Arabia during the 1940s posed several problems inside the KSA. They were not only hostile to Ibn Saud, but were essentially hostile to any foreign presence in the KSA, to the embarrassment of the Saudi government.¹¹² Although the government managed to defeat the group in the late 1940s with British help¹¹³ their resistance towards any non-Muslim Western presence or influence has remained an important part of Saudi society – especially in the older population.

It can be argued that in these terms one significant long-term consequence of the historical diplomatic and political relationship up to the present day, is that Saudi Arabia has been less keen to understand British culture than the British have been to understand the Saudis. However, it is also true that from 1945 some gradual reform measures began to be introduced in Saudi Arabia, encouraging foreign travel on a small-scale. The Saudi government also actively sought to educate people and make them aware of the importance of western science and technology. For example, in June 1945 King Abdul-Aziz officially asked the British government to develop and train flight crews. Britain acknowledged that it could meet the initial requirements by sending a training mission of civilians equipped by (Avro-Anson) for passengers and with two aircraft (Tiger Moths) equipped to carry out training tasks – according to a

¹¹¹ Tareq Y. Ismael, 1999. *International Relations of the Contemporary Middle East: A Study in World Politics*, (Syracuse University Press: Syracuse, NY, USA), p. 90.

¹¹² Hermann Frederick Eilts, 1988. “Saudi Arabia: Traditionalism versus Modernism—A Royal Dilemma?” *Ideology and Power in the Middle East: Studies in Honor of George Lenczowski*, eds. Peter J. Chelkowski and Robert J. Pranger. (Duke University Press: Durham, NC, USA). pp. 56-88.

¹¹³ JPeterson, “The Arabian Peninsula in Modern Times”, pp. 1435-1449.

commercial contract implemented by Air Work – under the supervision of the British government. The Saudi government agreed, and the aviation training and maintenance team arrived Jeddah in 1947. This first British training mission, had approximately 10 members and was headed by the retired Colonel Hugh Black.¹¹⁴

Aviation training was thus provided for a number of Saudi students selected on merit from the School of the Preparation Mission in Makkah. In a microcosm of the bigger generational differences in the country, many parents of students nominated for flight school submitted petitions to the authorities to exempt their children from studying aviation. Such applications were denied and the success achieved by the first batch of trainees made many young people want to join in the future rounds of training.¹¹⁵

As these students spoke poor English, the language barrier became an obstacle to this early attempt at exchange and co-operation in the civilian sphere. However, this problem was overcome, and in August 1949, 10 student pilots completed their initial aviation training in Jeddah and with fluent English were now able to undertake advanced aviation training in the UK. They went to the Training University Air Service, near Southampton, where they trained on Proctor and Tiger Moth aircraft, progressing to twin-engine aircraft, such as, the Avro Anson and Airspeed Oxford. This marked the first time that a group of students was sent by Saudi Arabia to the UK. Subsequently, nine trainees from a second group were enrolled in the Academy of Aviation in Perth in Scotland where Prince Mansour bin Abdul-Aziz, Minister of

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

Defence, visited them, an indication of the importance that this programme held for senior Saudi officials.¹¹⁶

These small groups of Saudi students managed to overcome all the barriers they faced, such as a lack of English language skills, significant cultural differences and the miscommunication and misunderstanding that comes with them. One explanation for this success was the role of the team of British trainers sent to Saudi Arabia, in closing the gap and enhancing ties. Thereafter, this experiment impacted on the whole country, even in the most conservative regions, and played a small but powerful role in the evolving bilateral cultural relationship and in bringing about changes at the public level in KSA, especially in Jeddah.

After these pioneering students, hundreds of young Saudis were sent to study in the UK, which changed the perception of the West to the extent that conservative Saudi families were pleased to send their young daughters to pursue English language courses and even they allowed their sons to live with British families in different part of the United Kingdom. Today, Saudi citizens in large cities and small towns all over the KSA experience cultural diversity with the millions of expatriates from over 110 countries who live in the Kingdom, without losing their identity or sovereignty as a result of accommodating alien cultures with the indigenous Arabic-Islamic culture. However, a small section of Saudi society are still wary of foreign cultures, despite the fact that in many ways it cannot do without British culture.

¹¹⁶ Royal Saudi Air Force. "The History of the Royal Saudi Air Force. The Beginning of Aircraft in the Skies over the Arabian Peninsula". (www.rsaf.gov.sa),

CONCLUSION

Before reviewing the historical background of the two countries' relationship, including the main events that led to the development of that relationship, the concept of cultural relations was discussed, with a focus on the concept of cultural diplomacy as a tool for cultural relations. Furthermore, the use of cultural relations in public diplomacy as a facility for achieving a country's foreign policy, international objectives, and to deliver their message to the world was also considered. This chapter defined the concept of culture, and of cultural relations inspired by the principle of diplomatic culture and the importance of building relations between peoples.

Given this, and regardless of its value, the 1967 Agreement did not provide a unified strategy of planning and administration to set up realistic cultural relations in subsequent decades because by the time the Agreement was signed, nearly 10 years after the negotiations were started, local political events in the Middle East had influenced the cultural relationship. Additionally, the disregard for the financial and economic aspects of these cultural projects also led to a lack of progress, thus delaying the opportunity for developing stronger cultural ties in key areas.

The cultural agreement stressed the importance of information exchange between the two countries and its dissemination through the media (radio, television and the press). It also spoke of the expansion of educational cooperation through various means, including linkages between universities and other educational institutions, providing better facilities for students to learn both Arabic and English, exchange of academic visits and participation in conferences of scientific nature. In addition, it stressed that cultural cooperation should be based on a broad basis of educational cooperation between the two countries, and doing an active activities in this field like conferences. Also, the importance of scientific and technological

cooperation, particularly in the long-term projects that benefit both countries. Exchange of scientific information and visits is also important. Moreover, the document highlighted the need to coordinate plans that safeguard technological and scientific progress.

The agreement spoke of the need to strengthen humanitarian relations, such as communication between the peoples of both countries and permitting travel for professional reasons and through proper diplomatic means. However, the document did not speak of promoting tourism and youth meetings. Moreover, information about the implementation of the document's provisions in the 1970s, 80s and 90s is lacking.

According to Siddiqui, the Euro-Arab Dialogue was re-launched as a way to promote European engagement in the Middle East. But the reality was that the European Community had little motivation to engage with the Middle East when its interests were not jeopardised.¹¹⁷ Some researchers have argued that the EAD was not functioning even before the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Agreement of 1979.¹¹⁸ They go further to say that the EAD was seriously affected and its impact on cultural exchange was inadequate.¹¹⁹ Rory Miller argues that the failure of the EAD stems from three angles; inability to prevent the politicisation of the framework of the dialogue by concentrating only on economic issues of European countries; the lack of vision to avoid deep internal divisions among EU members on the objectives; and the mandate of the EAD.¹²⁰ Furthermore, the US influence on EU members and its hostility to the EAD since its inception was also an influencing factor.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ S. S. Siddiqui, quoted in Miller, "The Euro-Arab dialogue", p. 938.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ H.A. Jawad, 1992. *Euro-Arab Relations: A Study in Collective Diplomacy* (Ithaca Press: Reading).

¹²⁰ Miller, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue", p. 938.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 949.

From the EU point of view, the EAD was sought to develop dialogue through bilateral or multilateral economic and cultural relations, but the vast majority of the effort was focused mainly on economic development after the oil embargo imposed on European countries after the war of 1973.¹²² From the content of Arab elite discourse, and from the academic debate on the costs and benefits of the EAD, observers would likely conclude that the main rationale for formulating the framework of the EAD was an economic one.¹²³

The transfer of cultural values and practices, such as learning the English language, was a key aspect of the British policy in colonised and non-colonised countries around the world. It is easy to underestimate how far, and to what extent, the Arab intention to create cultural relations with other countries has been lost in translation. If that intention from the Arabs was truly reciprocated by the Nine, we would have seen more than ever before synchronised relations between the Arabs and Europe.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, it was not unreasonable to describe the Arab community in both moderate (Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the rest of the GCC, Morocco, Tunisia) and semi-moderate Arab countries (Egypt, Sudan, Yemen and Mauritania) as asking for change by more integration with western countries, and the Nine missed a chance of making a comprehensive cultural change, especially the UK through the British Council, which was operating in each and every Arab state. Furthermore, despite decades of peace and stability, policies adopted by the GCC countries took a collective stand against radicalism of all kinds, and there is little evidence to support the assumption that the British government in particular was ready to transfer skills,

¹²² Ibid., p. 950.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 953.

technologies and education assistance, associated with and based on English language learning, as an effective channel for transmission of cultural exchange.

The poor outcome of the Nine and Arab dialogue shows that even when the process of educational and scientific reform was accepted, the political will from Europe to ensure its effective implementation was not there. While the agenda of the Nine might have suited the United Kingdom more than other members for the long-term integration with young Arabs who were eager to learn English, the British Council had, and has, less to offer for such a major shift in Arab-British relations, and arguably pursued a policy of dragging its feet on fundamental issues of mutual interests.

With the passing of the fortieth anniversary of the Nine-Arab dialogue, from September 1974, it is clear that the good intentions of the Arab political elites were in vain. Their substantial enthusiasm, as noted from FCO memos, meant that intelligent and consistent Arab expertise supplicated to the Nine, believing that if cultural and scientific co-operation could be prioritised and taken seriously then the UK would have been the greatest beneficiary. The reward that Britain had to gain was as much a political one as it was financial, in the sense of maintaining a credible British cultural presence in major cities in the Arab world. It meant that for the foreseeable future all diplomats and political leaders would have graduated from British education institutions, taking a pivotal role in the wider context of UK-Arab relations.

Today, most scholars and policy makers in the UK and Saudi Arabia who are pushing the cause of cultural co-operation are encouraged by the current public support, which was often restricted in the past by religious or language barriers.¹²⁴ Fortunately, for those who advocate well intended programmes of cultural relations

¹²⁴ Al-Hejailan, "The Future of Euro-Arab Dialogue", p.120.

with the UK, the case of doing just that is more clear than ever before because a sizeable share of the restrictionists are receding at the expense of co-operationists.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 124.

CHAPTER 2

ANGLO-SAUDI RELATIONS AFTER THE PRE-1945 ERA: EXPLORATION, EXCHANGES AND VISITS, TRADE AND ECONOMY, AND EDUCATION AND CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

This Second chapter provides a review of the events affecting the cultural relations between Britain and Saudi Arabia after Saudi unification in order to better understand the nature of the bilateral relations and the basis for cultural relations between the two countries. It will also examine how the Anglo-Saudi relationship evolved between 1945 and the signing of the important bilateral cultural agreement in 1975.

The history of cultural relations after unification could easily be described as “drought cultural relations” that is, almost non-existent. It was not until the early 1960s that the Saudi government started to build and develop the infrastructure of the country, and it was only in the early 1970s when Saudi Arabia began to care about her international position and foreign affairs.

In this chapter, a brief account of the main events which impacted on the relationship from that time on will also be given, although at this time we will not explore the reasons for these developments as they will be examined in the coming chapters.

Subsequently, there will be a focus on the main common factors between the two nations, based upon the strengths of their relationship, which could be used to improve cultural relations, and thus, the relationship as a whole.

2. A brief Overview of the Relations between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom

“Britain was thus never a stand-alone state, even in 1940, and of course, the process of worldwide political, economic, and cultural interpenetration – a process profoundly affecting Britain – has accelerated markedly in recent decades.”¹²⁶

2.1 Official Visits

Diplomatic relations between the two Kingdoms were established in 1927. Since that time, political relations and continued dialogue between Saudi Arabia and Britain have been maintained at the highest levels, through mutual visits between government officials for the purposes of further co-ordination and research, and the deepening of bilateral co-operation intended to strengthen relations in all areas and the various fields.

The first visit by a member of the British Royal Family took place just five years after the unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on 23 September 1932. On 25 February 1938, HRH Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, and her husband, the Earl of Athlone, travelled to Saudi Arabia. For three weeks they travelled across Arabia from west to east, meeting tribal chieftains and camping out in the desert. The princess wrapped herself in a long black gown when in the company of Arab men, and she took 322 photographs during their trip, which are now owned by the Saudi government.¹²⁷

In her memoirs, which have been reproduced on websites such as “Sotheby’s”, “American Exchange”, and “Art Daily”, Princess Alice wrote:

¹²⁶ Anthony King, 2007. *The British Constitution*, (Oxford University Press: Oxford), p. 101.

¹²⁷ Times Online, 30 October, 2007.

“Our visit to Saudi Arabia in the winter of 1938 came about through a chance meeting with the Crown Prince Saud in 1936, when he took me in to luncheon at Ascot [...] Out of politeness I said how sorry I was that I had never visited Arabia, though I had been as far as Petra. He at once asked, ‘Why not come to Arabia?’”¹²⁸

This visit was significant for several reasons, for although many members of the Saudi royal family had visited Britain, this was the first occasion on which a delegation from the British royal family had visited the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It was also the only occasion that any member of the British royal family met the founder of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, King Abdul-Aziz Ibn Saud. The primary objective of this visit was not just to discuss political affairs but also to strengthen mutual ties and communications.¹²⁹

As this thesis will demonstrate, from 1945 the KSA has remained one of the most important countries in terms of UK foreign policy, arguably more than any other country in the Middle East.¹³⁰ His Majesty King Faisal bin Abdul-Aziz was the first Saudi Monarch to pay an official visit to Britain in 1967.¹³¹ In the same year, His Royal Highness Prince Sultan bin Abdul-Aziz Al Saud (Minister of Defence and Aviation and Inspector General) visited Britain. There then followed three visits to Britain by Crown Prince Fahd bin Abdul-Aziz, later the King of Saudi Arabia, in 1975, 1977, and 1981. Also in 1981, King Khalid bin Abdul-Aziz paid an official visit to Britain which resulted in the strengthening and development of relations in many areas. Prince Sultan (Crown Prince, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and Aviation and Inspector General) then visited Britain in 1986 followed by King

¹²⁸ Sotheby’s Website, 7 March 2009.

¹²⁹ Sotheby’s Website, 2009. See also Art Daily, 2009.

¹³⁰ Interview with Rachel Bronson, President Roosevelt and King Abdul-Aziz - *The Meeting at Great Bitter Lake: A Conversation with Rachel Bronson*. (Saudi-US Relations Information Service, (SUSRIS), 17 March 2005).

¹³¹ “Saudi-British Relations Extends to Eight Decades of Common Interests”, (*Al Riyadh News*, 29 October 2007).

Fahd bin Abdul-Aziz in 1987. During two subsequent visits, in 1988 and 1996, Prince Sultan met Queen Elizabeth II at Buckingham Palace, the British Prime Minister [John Major], and a number of British officials. Prince Sultan's discussions with British officials dealt with bilateral relations and common interests between the two countries and issues of common concern.¹³²

In this context, the last visit to the United Kingdom by the monarch of Saudi Arabia, King Abdullah bin Abdul-Aziz Al Saud, was in 2007 when he met with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and the Prince of Wales, His Royal Highness Prince Charles, at Buckingham Palace in London, as well as the British Prime Minister Gordon Brown.¹³³

On the British side, Queen Elizabeth II visited Saudi Arabia in 1979, and the Prince of Wales has made numerous visits to the Kingdom – in 1986, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2005, and 2006.¹³⁴ Interestingly, no British prime minister visited Saudi Arabia until 1981, when Margaret Thatcher became the first serving prime minister to visit the kingdom,¹³⁵ and then again in 1985. Following her visit, a number of other British prime ministers have visited the Saudi Arabia including John Major (in 1990, 1992 and 1994), and Tony Blair (in 1997, 2001, and 2005).¹³⁶

2.2 Trade and Economic Relations

In terms of trade, the mutual visits between Saudi and UK officials referred to above played a significant role in supporting and strengthening relations between the two countries, and over the past two decades, a strong and increasingly expanding trade

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ William Massie, "'Revenge' Threat to Kill Mrs Thatcher", (*Sunday Express*, 5 April 1981).

¹³⁶ *Al Riyadh News*, 29 October 2007.

relationship has emerged.¹³⁷ As Vince Cable, Secretary of State for Business Innovation and Skills affirmed: “The relationship between our two Kingdoms is important to both of us and we will work to improve it.”¹³⁸ Currently, Saudi Arabia is considered to be the UK’s largest foreign trading and investment partner in the Middle East, with more than 150 Saudi-British joint-ventures active in the Kingdom, worth around £6.5 billion GBP in 2009. This makes Saudi Arabia the UK’s 23rd largest export market. According to unofficial Saudi Chamber of Commerce sources, the majority of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Saudi Arabia originates from the United Kingdom, the United States, and Lebanon.¹³⁹

The Saudi Arabian General Investment Authority (SAGIA) listed the top companies from the UK investing in KSA in 2008. These are:¹⁴⁰

- SABB (The Saudi British Bank, an associated company of the HSBC Group)
- United Sugar Co.
- Middle East Propulsion Co. Ltd.
- National Factory for Can Ends Ltd. (NAFCEL)
- GSK Saudi Arabia Co. Ltd.
- Synthomer Middle East Co. (formerly Dhahran Harco)
- Saudi Masterbaker Ltd.
- Saudi MBT Building Materials Co. Ltd.
- International Paint Saudi Arabia Company
- MK Cable Management (Saudi Arabia) Ltd.
- Bupa Arabia

¹³⁷ John Sfakianakis, 2007. *SABB Notes, Saudi-British Trade Relations: Oil is only half the story... or less*, (SABB: Riyadh).

¹³⁸ “UK and Saudi Arabia drive forward bilateral trade”, (*Foreign and Commonwealth Office*, 24 June 2010). Accessed 14 January 2015. <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-and-saudi-arabia-drive-forward-bilateral-trade>

¹³⁹ Mohamed Ramady, and John Saeed, Foreign Direct Investment: A Strategic Move Toward Sustainable Free Enterprise and Economic Development in Saudi Arabia, *Thunderbird International Business Review*, (Thunderbird School of Global Management: Glendale, AZ. USA), vol. 49 (1), pp. 37-56.

¹⁴⁰ SAGIA, International Operations/United Kingdom.

At the OECD, both kingdoms jointly manage a working group focused on economic diversification designed to enhance conditions for investment in the Middle East and North Africa. Furthermore, the number of Saudis visiting the UK has increased rapidly over recent years. In 2007, approximately 31,000 visas were issued to Saudi citizens, an increase of 55 per cent over 2004.¹⁴¹ Most of the visas issued were for tourism; however the number of Saudis who are studying in the UK has also increased from 3,000 in 2007 to over 14,000 in 2010.¹⁴²

Similarly, the number of British citizens who live and work in Saudi Arabia increased to around 20,000 by 2010. More than 25,000 people a year make an annual Hajj pilgrimage, while up to 100,000 visitors from Britain do the lesser pilgrimage of Umrah.¹⁴³ During his visit to Saudi Arabia in April 2006, the Hon. Jack Straw, MP, former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, declared that Britain “was the first mainly Christian country to send an annual, official Government-backed delegation to the holy places [to assist] British pilgrims undertaking Hajj.”¹⁴⁴

Accordingly, the main factors in the economic relationship between the KSA and the UK can be summarised as follows:

- Over 150 active Saudi-British joint ventures exist with a total investment worth around £6.5 billion GBP in 2009.
- The UK is the second largest foreign investor in Saudi Arabia after the US.

¹⁴¹ Sfakianakis, *Saudi-British Trade Relations*.

¹⁴² “UK and Saudi Arabia drive forward bilateral trade”, (*Foreign and Commonwealth Office*, 24 June 2010).

¹⁴³ Sfakianakis, *Saudi-British Trade Relations*.

¹⁴⁴ “Two Countries: Facing the Challenges Ahead: UK-Saudi Conference 2005”, (Saudi-US Relations Information Service).

- The numbers of British citizens who live and work in KSA is around 20,000.
- The UK is one of the most popular European countries visited by Saudis.
- There are over 14,000 Saudis studying at British universities.
- Saudi Arabia has the largest construction market in the Middle East and is one of the fastest growing in the world.

Economic relations between the two countries are a benchmark in terms of the strength and durability of bilateral co-operation. From the unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia until the present day, economic and trade co-operation between the two countries has developed significantly at all levels, particularly in the area of trade and investment, as indicated by the statistical report on the official website of the Saudi embassy in London.¹⁴⁵ Finally, there is no doubt that positive and developing bilateral trade, whether company-to-company or government-to-government, affirms the strong relationships and promotes cultural understanding.

2.3 Cultural and Educational Relations

• Cultural exchange

Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom are two extremely different countries in terms of their religion, culture, traditions and language. Nevertheless, both kingdoms have recently worked to narrow their differences in promoting closer friendship and understanding between their peoples. Published in 2008, *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The United Kingdom; a History of Friendship* sets out the early relationship between the two Kingdoms. The book describes the adventures of the earliest British explorers who dreamed of crossing the Rub' al Khali desert (the "Empty Quarter"), capturing its heart and understanding its history. For instance,

¹⁴⁵ Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, London, *Saudi-British Relations*.

Lady Anne Blunt, who visited Arabia in the nineteenth century, was enchanted by battlemented towns, commenting:

“It was nearly sunset when we first saw Jubbah, below us at the edge of the Sabkhah (salt flat or dried-up lake bed) with dark green palms cutting the pale blue of the dry lake and beyond that a group of red rocks rising out of the pink Nafud. Jubbah is one of the most curious places in the world and to my mind one of the most beautiful.”¹⁴⁶

Bertram Thomas, in the 1930s, was amazed by the manners of desert dwellers, declaring: “It was their code after a thirsty day's march that when we arrived at a water hole no drop should pass the lips of the advanced party until those in the rear had come up.”¹⁴⁷

“Until the last several decades, most authors have been either travellers, both casual and ‘professional,’ or government officials (principally British) stationed in the region [Saudi Arabia]. It should not be surprising that the travel literature has been of mixed quality. Nevertheless, the accounts of intrepid travellers such as Carsten Niebuhr, George Sadleir, J.R. Wellsted, Charles Doughty, the Bents, and Richard Burton, quite often constitute the few surviving records of much of modern historical interest. That tradition has been continued by such twentieth-century travellers, explorers, missionaries, and journalists as Bertram Thomas, St. John Philby, Paul Harrison, Claudie Fayein, Daniel van der Meulen, Wilfrid Thesiger, and David Holden. At the same time, diplomats and expatriate administrators have made seminal contributions to the history of Arabia, not unlike the way in which they collected specimens of geology or flora and fauna for analysis in museums back in Europe. Many of these works, among them Samuel Miles, Snouk Hurgronje, and Sir Arnold Wilson, provide the basic foundations upon which later writers, both Western and indigenous, have been able to build. As a source on subjects as diverse as political narratives, economy, slavery, telegraphs, and tribal

¹⁴⁶ Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, London, *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The United Kingdom*, p. 38.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

gazetteers, J.G. Lorimer's compilation is without comparison."¹⁴⁸

Many British residents in the Kingdom today have continued to explore the desert, archaeological sites, and landscape. This was advocated by *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The United Kingdom*, which cited Margaret Thatcher's opinion:

"I am not known as an incurable romantic, but the desert, the mountains, the teeming commerce of the ports – perhaps the contrasts and combination above all – an effect on me which it has had on so many English men and women. I came away not just fascinated but captivated by the land, the culture and the people."¹⁴⁹

Similarly, the United Kingdom has attracted thousands of visitors from Saudi Arabia, mostly because of its rich culture and history, museums, the English language, the cold and rainy weather, and the brick and stone architecture. However, during the period of UK influence over Eastern Saudi Arabia, it did not establish any British schools, unlike in Egypt and other countries. The first office of the British Council in Riyadh, opened in 1967, was established in order to help in "promoting bilateral cultural relations between the two countries."¹⁵⁰

Nonetheless, the most formal move towards friendship and cultural understanding came from the establishment of the Saudi-British Society in 1986 by the Saudi Embassy in London. The Society is a "social, cultural, non-political and non-commercial organisation" that "aims to bring together British citizens who have [...] professional, commercial, cultural or otherwise" interests in Saudi Arabia, as well as Saudi Arabian citizens who are interested in the UK,¹⁵¹ and its main activities have

¹⁴⁸ Peterson, "The Arabian Peninsula in Modern Times".

¹⁴⁹ Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, London, *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The United Kingdom*, p. 39.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Saudi-British Society, (www.saudibritishsociety.org.uk).

included receptions for important visitors, dinners, exhibitions, lectures and book launches.¹⁵² Examples of its activities include a lecture arranged by Professor Bruce Ingham on *the Tribes of Arabia with a particular focus on the tribes of Saudi Arabia*, in addition to two tours of Saudi Arabia. More importantly, the society has issued a number of publications including *Inside The Kingdom*, *Saudi Women Speak*, *Arab Storm: Politics and Diplomacy Behind the Gulf War*, *Beyond The Dunes: An Anthology of Modern Saudi Literature*, and *Travellers In Arabia: British Explorers in Saudi Arabia*. Some of these early publications reflect the insight of the British into Saudi culture, literature, politics, traditions and geography in an attempt to illustrate the early contacts between Saudi Arabia and Britain.¹⁵³

Moreover, a vast number of art exhibitions have been held in both Kingdoms as part of this developing exchange. Perhaps the most significant of these were the joint “Painting and Patronage” exhibition held in 2000 and 2001, displaying paintings by the HRH the Prince of Wales and Prince Khalid Al Faisal,¹⁵⁴ and the exhibition of photographs about Saudi Arabia and Islam by British Muslim Peter Sanders, held at the Houses of Parliament in London in 2004.¹⁵⁵

In 2006, the British Council sponsored a photographic exhibition in Riyadh called “*Common Ground*”. This exhibition included “images of [the] contemporary Islamic experience in the UK” and was opened jointly by the foreign ministers of both countries.¹⁵⁶ In the same year, the British Museum displayed “paintings by three

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, London, *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The United Kingdom*, p. 40.

¹⁵⁴ See Painting & Patronage at <http://www.paintingandpatronage.com>. Accessed 14 January 2015.

¹⁵⁵ Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, London, *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The United Kingdom*, p. 40.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

Saudi artists in its ‘Word into Art’ exhibition”¹⁵⁷ and British Airways selected the Saudi artist, Shadiyah Alem, to work with other international artists in decorating the tailplanes of their aircraft. Furthermore, an exhibition of historic photographs, recording a century of special friendship between the two countries, was displayed at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 2007.

This cultural alignment between the two Kingdoms was also seen in the festivals held by Saudi Arabia in London and Manchester in 2004 and 2005, appropriately titled “*Saudi Arabia Days*”. These festivals brought craftsmen, traditional performers and music from Saudi Arabia to the United Kingdom.¹⁵⁸ In 2006 this cultural programme was further developed through exhibitions and activities in London, Wales and Scotland where Prince Mohammed bin Nawaf, then Ambassador to the United Kingdom, sponsored an exhibition of Islamic Art at the Royal Museum, Edinburgh.¹⁵⁹ These exhibitions assisted in cementing the relationship between the two countries. As Prince Mohammed bin Nawaf contended: “Through culture and sport we begin to understand one another. Today, more than ever, we need to demonstrate what draws us together.”¹⁶⁰

In recent years regular conferences have been held between the Saudi Arabia and the UK to improve understanding between their different cultures, to combat extremism and terrorism and to find peaceful solutions to current conflicts in the Middle East. Most recently, in April 2009, at the Fourth Saudi-British forum “Two Kingdoms’ Dialogue” held in Riyadh, the then Saudi Foreign Minister, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, emphasised the bilateral cultural and educational relations that have

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

become critical to the relationship.¹⁶¹ The Two Kingdoms' Dialogue focused on ways of strengthening political, economic and educational co-operation between the two countries, expanding co-operation between Saudi and British universities, as well as setting out prospects for the establishment of Saudi-British technical training institutes in the Kingdom.¹⁶²

Al-Faisal claimed that the number of Saudis studying at British universities and colleges in 2009 had increased by more than 700 per cent since the year 2000 to about 15,000. In the context of bilateral co-operation, the two countries have sought to ensure a better future for the young through programmes offered by the business and the professional sector. As Al-Faisal stated: "I also trust that its inauguration will lead to effective measures to put this programme into practical application."¹⁶³

David Miliband, the former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs who headed the British delegation, expressed British pride in the fact that more than 14,000 Saudi students were enrolled within the UK educational community, and also noted the existing co-operation between Saudi universities and their British counterparts, including the universities of Leeds and Sheffield, who had signed agreements with King Saud University for co-operation in the increasingly important and cutting-edge area of nanotechnology. He also looked forward to further scientific and academic co-operation between the two countries.¹⁶⁴

The Two Kingdoms' Dialogue, which began in London in 2007, has focused on ways of strengthening political, economic and educational co-operation between the two countries. Each year the participants discussed the challenges facing young

¹⁶¹ See the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Foreign Affairs Website, "The 4th Saudi-British Forum of the Two Kingdoms Dialogue Conference, 7-8 April 2009".

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

men and women in both countries and have emphasised the need for inculcating moderate ideas and tolerant concepts in their minds. The dialogue has also focused on expanding co-operation between Saudi and British universities and, as noted above, prospects for setting up Saudi-British technical training institutes in the Kingdom.

During the king's visit to the UK in 2007, the two countries signed a memorandum of understanding on technical education and vocational training, and the governor of the Saudi General Organization for Technical Education and Vocational Training (GOTEVOT), Nasser Al-Ghafees, expressed the hope that the annual forum would also discuss the possibility of training trainers of the organisation's colleges and institutes.¹⁶⁵

- **Educational Exchange**

Taking an educational perspective, the motivations behind creating cultural links between the two nations are varied. From the British point of view, its investment in people is for the purpose of delivering both cultural values and technology to Saudi Arabia. In contrast, the Saudis see it as an opportunity to cement the gap in education and skills within the country and improve the quality of life of its people. Historically, the Egyptian educational system had been influenced by the British,¹⁶⁶ and in turn the Saudi educational system had been influenced greatly by Egyptians. Hence, indirectly, there has always been an informal British influence on the Saudi education system. For example, the Egyptian influence in delivering vocational education to empower and further improve the skills of the Saudi work force is a system widely

¹⁶⁵ "King Abdullah Begins Historic UK Visit", (Saudi-US Relations Information Service, 31 October 2007).

¹⁶⁶ Naif Alromi, 2009. *Vocational Education in Saudi Arabia*. (State College, PA: Penn State University), p. 9.

used in Britain, and is an aspect that has paved the way for another connection between the two nations.¹⁶⁷

In the same context, the General Organization for Technical, Educational and Vocational Training (GOTEVOT) project was set up by the British in Saudi Arabia in 2005 to provide international accreditation to the vocational training system. Prince Andrew, The Duke of York, and the then British Ambassador, Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles, were present at the signing ceremony. As Dr Saleh Al-Amr (Deputy Governor for Development) told the *Arab News*: “The partnership program [sic] brokered by the British Council in conjunction with the British Embassy will develop mutually beneficial relationships between the two countries in the field of education and vocational training”.¹⁶⁸ For its part, the British Council was “very pleased to have been able to assist GOTEVOT in its pursuit of gaining international accreditation for the vocational education and training system in Saudi Arabia,” Marcus Gilbert, deputy director of the British Council, told the media. He also said that the agreement added value to the awards gained by students and also led to recognition for GOTEVOT as the primary awarding body within the region to accredit qualifications within the Gulf States.¹⁶⁹

Proper educational links with the United Kingdom began when some of the younger sons, grandsons and daughter of King Abdul-Aziz were sent to further their

¹⁶⁷ Saleh Al-Abdulkareem, n.d. *Education Development in Saudi Arabia; Curriculum and Instruction*. Department College of Education, King Saud University. Accessed 14 January 2015. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/86318616/Education-Development-in-Saudi-Arabia-Historical-Project>

¹⁶⁸ Mohammed RasoolDeen, “GOTEVOT Gets UK Accreditation”, (*Arab News*, 22 February 2005). Accessed on 14 January 2015, <http://www.arabnews.com/node/262698> “GOTEVOT, the largest Saudi government organization responsible for vocational training, was represented by its deputy governor, Dr Saleh Al-Amr, while Yolanda Samuel, and [sic] the International Development Adviser of City & Guilds, and Nicholas Sansome, development director of Edexcel International, signed the agreement on behalf of the UK Awarding Bodies Consortium,” and “The inking of the partnership program brokered by the British Council took place at its London office on Saturday.”

¹⁶⁹ Mohammed RasoolDeen, “International Accreditation for GOTEVOT”, (*Arab News*, 01 February 2005). Accessed on 14 January 2015. <http://www.arabnews.com/node/261732>

education in Britain in the 1950s. By 2008, over 14,000 Saudi students were enrolled in both undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in a variety of subjects in UK universities.¹⁷⁰

The first British school in Saudi Arabia was opened in Jeddah in 1967, with the aim of creating bilateral cultural and educational relations. Currently each main city in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has approximately two British schools, including the British International Schools in Riyadh, Jeddah, Al-Khobar, Damam, Dhahran, and Tabuk.¹⁷¹ Besides these schools there are many British academic and language centres across Saudi Arabia. Today there are also three British Council offices located throughout the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which deliver English courses and language programmes as well as teacher training and educational counselling.¹⁷²

Correspondingly, in 1985 the first Saudi school, The King Fahd Academy, was opened in London, and Saudi Arabia has endowed a number of academic posts at some of Britain's top universities, such as the King Fahd Chair at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London, and the Khalid bin Abdullah Al Saud professorship for the study of the contemporary Arab World at Oxford University. Additionally, Crown Prince Sultan donated approximately £2 million GBP towards the creation of an Islamic art gallery at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford University in 2005.¹⁷³

Meanwhile, Saudis frequently visit the UK both to study English and to join sports and educational courses and joint programmes with British students. This was

¹⁷⁰ Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, London, *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The United Kingdom*, p. 41.

¹⁷¹ "International schools becoming popular among Saudis", (*Arab News*, 26 August 2013).

¹⁷² Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, London, *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The United Kingdom* p. 42.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

confirmed in the *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The United Kingdom*, which in 2008 stated that a programme held to link 32 Saudi Arabian and UK schools, in addition to groups from different Kingdoms, congregated together to explore different continents together as members of “Connecting Cultures”.¹⁷⁴

Another significant educational link between the two countries was the launch and implementation of a web application, Explore Saudi Arabia in the form of an educational website. The aim of this project was to disseminate information about the Kingdom, its history, culture, geography and religion in British schools. The potential for exploiting the tremendous opportunities available through modern communications facilities, such as the Internet, is beyond the scope of this research. However, the provision of online facilities with up to date information has certainly had a positive impact on the bilateral cultural relations.

2.4 Factors and Starting Points for Cultural Relations

2.4.1 Religion

Religion is an important and essential factor in relations between individuals and communities. There is no doubting the influence of religion on the lives of people’s customs, traditions, and behaviours. Saudi Arabia is predominantly an Islamic country, and highly religious, whereas Britain, though historically Christian, is today largely secular.

Islam is not just a religious practice, but is a behaviour, thought, a way of life, a political system, art, and literature. Thus, the Islamic religion enjoys an

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

inexhaustible spring of strong and permanent cultural ties with other Islamic countries.¹⁷⁵

The conceptual framework of Islam was built on the idea of the oneness of God, and the Sharia laws founded by the two pillars of Qur'an, and Hadith. But as the Islamic societies become more familiar with Western technology and capitalist values, they face increasing pressure when trying to keep their traditional culture; "The Saudis have been receiving the material components first (technology, capitalism) and then these material components began to pose a challenge to the cultural and behavioural attitudes of the Saudis."¹⁷⁶

"In response to this challenge, the Saudis were split into three groups. First, there were those who admired the West and wanted to imitate it. Second, there were those who knew the tremendous influence that Western mode of development could have on Saudi culture and wanted to slow down the importation of technology and maintain their own traditional culture. Third, there were the moderates who wanted both the material comforts provided by Western technology, as well as the spiritual stability offered by accentuating traditional values."¹⁷⁷

On the British side the concept of religion is different. As the report *The Struggle for Secularism in Europe* suggests, "Britain is constitutionally a Christian state and also one of the least religious countries in the world." However, the report considers that a paradox because although religion in Britain;

"drives many aspects of social policy and foreign policy, [it is] for entirely expedient political reasons. Faith has little to do with much day-to-day life yet recognition of what have become known as 'faith-based communities' is central to political decisions on a range of issues. Freedom of speech, education and counter-terrorism strategies are all

¹⁷⁵ Martin Rose and Nick Wadham-Smith, 2004. *Mutuality, Trust and Cultural Relations*, (Counterpoint: London).

¹⁷⁶ Michel G. Nehme, 1994. Saudi Arabia 1950-80: Between Nationalism and Religion, *Middle Eastern Studies*, (Taylor & Francis: Oxford), vol. 30 (4), pp. 930-943.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

influenced by a range of assumptions around the benefits of a religion-based policy.”¹⁷⁸

On the other hand, religion is crucial to Saudi Arabia’s politics and society, and it plays a key role in any relationship that Saudi Arabia has with other countries. This reality impacts on relations with Britain due to the fact that no common religious culture exists between them, and because Saudi Arabia’s religious conservatism certainly plays a role in perceptions of the country in Britain. This religious challenge has made public diplomacy even more important in the bilateral relationship.

On occasion, as a result of this lack of common ground between Islamic and Western nations, “the efforts of Middle Eastern governments to come to terms with the West have sometimes meant that the governments then lose power.”¹⁷⁹ Indeed the situation is complicated, for when the Saudi government tried publicly to establish links with the West in the 1970s and later, on some occasions, as will be shown through this thesis, it was rejected by a large segment of society.

Thus, the government kept their social and cultural contact with the West at a distance from the public in order to achieve their foreign policy initiative without facing any objections. That, in my view, led the Saudi government to explain this issue to the West only in diplomatic terms, aside from showing much good will. This may be the reason why Saudi Arabia still uses this same diplomatic and political attitude, which is mistakenly perceived as a veil of secrecy by the Western public, who have never seen Saudi culture in its true light.

¹⁷⁸ Marieme Hélie-Lucas, ed., 2011. *Dossier 30-31: The Struggle for Secularism in Europe and North America*, (Women Living Under Muslim Laws: London). The dossiers are an occasional publication of the international solidarity network of Women Living Under Muslim Laws. It explores a broad range of discourses, interpretations and strategies of women on issues of feminism, nationalism, internationalism and religion.)

¹⁷⁹ M.A. Fitzsimons, 1957. “The Suez Crisis and the Containment Policy”, *The Review of Politics*, (University of Notre Dame: Notre Dame IN, USA), vol. 19 (4), pp. 419-445.

In turn, from the British side, because they have absorbed this concept about Saudi society through trade and politics, they exercise caution in their interactions with Saudis, and do not deal socially and culturally with Saudi society. Moreover, the concept of the Saudi government “losing power” has possibly “produced hesitation in the West [including Britain], for why come to terms with Middle Eastern governments”.¹⁸⁰

It is inconceivable that religious fanatics in the early 1980s tried very hard to stop the progress made by many scholars and educators from both countries.¹⁸¹ The notion that Saudi culture, and for that matter Arab culture, is monolithic and cannot exist with other cultures had been falsely propagated by the enemies of all cultures on both sides of the fence:

“Yet a more problematic aspect of the question confronts Saudi society, and the regime in particular. As a result of the international politico economic and technological pressures/opportunities [...] there exists an ineluctable imperative to adapt to a globalizing world. How this can be reconciled with the perceived need to protect ‘Saudi’ culture remains a question fraught with tension. Questions of the application of Shari’a law, especially if it concerns Europeans in the kingdom, will remain sensitive.”¹⁸²

The challenge of combating the perception of Saudi Arabia as a source of radicalism, and its negative impact internationally, is one of the most serious that the nation faces.

Recruits for this extremist ideology against western culture offend Saudis both internally and externally, and distorts the image of Saudi Arabia internationally more than any other Islamic country. Therefore, the Prince Mohammed bin Naif

Counselling and Care Centre and the King Abdul Aziz Centre for National Dialogue

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Eric Davis 1991. “Theorizing Statecraft and Social Change in Arab Oil-Producing Countries” in E. Davis and N. Gavrielides eds., *Statecraft in the Middle East: Oil, Historical Memory, and Popular Culture*, (Florida International University Press: Miami).

¹⁸² Nonneman, “Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001”.

play not just an internal role for their own security interests but also act on an international scale with co-operation world-wide to prevent terrorism and to correct the image of Islam and in turn Saudi culture.^{183,184}

The Dossier *Women Living Under Muslim Laws* considers that “confronting anything that has to do with Islam and its most conservative interpretations is extremely problematic in ‘the West’, and that women confronting Christian or Jewish fundamentalism, for instance, do not suffer the same limitations as we do.”¹⁸⁵ This point of view for research in Britain is a dilemma which could limit of desire to identify Muslims and thus prevent cultural exchanges between Saudi Arabia and Britain. Because of Western fears of Islamic culture: “In this area, Saudi and European policy-makers have been careful to appear sensitive to each other's concerns.”¹⁸⁶ Therefore, and as Nonneman asserted in *Muslim Communities in the New Europe*, research is lacking in this area and there is a need to explore this issue further.¹⁸⁷ Hence that the entire Muslim world, and especially Saudi Arabia, should deal with it transparently and diplomatically is not only to correct the vision of Islam in the West, but also to correct the imbalance that exists in the minds of Westerners about Islam.

The royal family continually needs to play the role of buffer and balancer, between traditionalist and globalizing sentiment, and between the pressures to open up and the need to maintain 'local' tradition – both supplying different building blocks for legitimacy and security. In this, it is, again, continuing the century old pattern established by

¹⁸³ Ellie B. Hearne and Nur Laiq, 2010. *A New Approach? De-Radicalization Programs and Counter-Terrorism*, (International Peace Institute: New York).

¹⁸⁴ John Horgan and Kurt Braddock, 2010. “Rehabilitating the Terrorists?: Challenges in Assessing the effectiveness of De-radicalization Programs”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22 (2010): 267–291.

¹⁸⁵ H  lie-Lucas, ed., *Dossier 30-31: The Struggle for Secularism in Europe and North America*.

¹⁸⁶ Gerd Nonneman, Tim Niblock and Bogdan Szajkowski, eds., 1997. *Muslim Communities in the New Europe*, (Ithaca Press: London).

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

Abdul-Aziz. The regime's Islamic credentials have been buttressed also by the support of Islamic institutions across the world, including in western Europe [and the UK], where Islam has acquired a major presence.¹⁸⁸

The religious, or Islamic, factor is not only important enough to be mentioned here in this section, but will also be raised in sections in chapters throughout the whole thesis.

2.4.2 Historical and Political Ties

Arab relations with the United Kingdom stretch back to the colonial era. The most prominent events in the history between the Arab countries and Britain occurred during the era of the Ottoman Empire, when the Ottomans ruled most of the Islamic world, including the Arabian Peninsula. This long history between the Arab countries and the United Kingdom, with all the benefits and consequences it has brought, has served as an anchor and a springboard for the privileged relationship between the Arab world and Britain.

The end of the Ottoman Empire led to the formation of the political map of the modern Arab world. However, it is difficult to find any long-term historical ties between Britain and Saudi Arabia, particularly because the country of Saudi Arabia itself is relatively new. In addition, Saudi territory was not colonised by Britain, as were other Arab countries such as Egypt, Palestine and Yemen. However, some minor parts of Saudi Arabia were under British protection, including the Western Region, as part of the British strategic priority of securing commercial traffic to India via the Persian (Arabian) Gulf.¹⁸⁹

Early in this chapter and in the introduction some features were discussed of the historical relations between both countries, and here we will take a moment to review some of these points and refer to other ones.

¹⁸⁸ Nonneman, "Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001".

¹⁸⁹ Leatherdale, *Britain and Saudi Arabia 1925-1939*.

Diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom began with common interests from 1902, when Abdul Aziz was the undisputed ruler of a substantial central area in Saudi Arabia called Najd. However, it was not until 1911 that Abdul Aziz invited the British Political Officer in Kuwait, Captain William Shakespear, to visit him. Shakespear accepted the invitation, and met the Saudi leader in Taif the same year. The discovery of oil was announced in 1913, and since then the British Government has played a pivotal role in developing relations with the House of Saud.

In December 1915, Abdul Aziz met with Sir Percy Cox, the British Resident in charge of Gulf Affairs, to sign the first treaty that would build closer ties between the House of Saud and the UK. In 1916, Abdul Aziz was invited, as a guest of honour, to Kuwait to a meeting for all of Britain's regional allies,¹⁹⁰ and in 1917 the first formal British mission was established in Riyadh. The delegation was headed by Harry St. John Philby.¹⁹¹

After the establishment of the mission, and formalisation of the relationship between the UK and Saudi Arabia, the main preoccupation for the entire region was to create security and stability for the area, until the unification of the Kingdom in 1932 in which Britain also played a prominent role, as previously stated. After unification, a further security threat to the rule of Abdul Aziz came from fanatical tribes that had supported him in his conquests to unify the land, forcing him to co-operate militarily with Britain again to get rid of the opposition "Brotherhood" and this he managed by the end of the 1940s. Then surfaced many other problems in which the British were involved. To give one example, the Buraimi Oasis crisis was

¹⁹⁰ Troeller, *The Birth of Saudi Arabia*; Bayly Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*.

¹⁹¹ Kostiner, *The Making of Saudi Arabia 1916-1936*,

one which involved Britain, and which took several years to resolve. Although, there were Anglo-Saudi disputes in the 1950s and 1960s, which severely affected their political relations as will be discussed in chapter 3, it could be argued that good political relations between the two countries, and the real establishment of cultural relations, began alongside the huge investments of the 1970s, which increasingly led to the modernization of Saudi and in turn required more dealings with foreign countries, including Britain. Such change was viewed as more active interference in social and economic matters from the West, with a view to speeding the pace of development, and aroused opposition and strengthened Islamist movements in Saudi Arabia, which were at odds with the aims of the Saudi government.

Although cordial bilateral relations have faced challenges during the last 60 years, such relations have remained steady, and in some periods were stronger. For example, in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, on the basis of economic and trade co-operation, Saudi consultants and policy experts in the government stimulated the scholarship programme to the West, including Britain, to reduce the severity of the deficit in qualified labour in Saudi Arabia and at the same time to attract foreign experts from the West.¹⁹² Greater international investments in education, especially with Britain, resulted in an increase in the number and quality of academically qualified professionals in British hands. At the same time, this co-operation encouraged tourism, particularly from Saudi towards Britain. However, while these two aspects were the most influential in the cultural relationship between both nations, at the same time it was rare to see any other kind of cultural relations developing, such as arts exchange, exhibitions, lectures, seminars and so on.

¹⁹² Dekmejian, R. Hrair, 1998. "Saudi Arabia's Consultative Council", *Middle East Journal*, (Middle East Policy Council: Washington, DC, USA), vol. 52 (2), pp. 204-218.

The relationship faced a new challenge in the 1990s, following the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, when Britain supported the region's stance against Saddam Hussein:

“We stood shoulder to shoulder with Saudi Arabia in the Gulf war in 1991, with the largest deployment of British armed forces since the Second World War, and we are ready to do the same again if necessary.”¹⁹³

In addition, the response to international social changes after 9/11 was backed by a broad international political consensus. One example of this pressure came from Britain, where the British media policy and public opinion put the King Fahd Academy in London under the microscope, forcing it to change its Saudi curriculum completely, so as to be in line with the British curriculum as much as possible in order to satisfy British public opinion. This later resulted in the overhaul of the education system in Saudi Arabia, including the tertiary education system, which could be attributed to the United Kingdom in particular, as will be examined broadly in chapter 6.

2.5 Prospective Factors for building Anglo-Saudi Cultural Ties

2.5.1 Factor 1: Hajj and Umrah Seasons

Reports published by *The Independent* newspaper in January and November 2011, noted that the number of Britons who had converted to Islam in the previous decade had doubled. The report found that thousands of Britons convert to Islam every year compared with other religious communities, despite the growing criticism and scrutiny faced by British Muslims and the negative image reflected by the media

¹⁹³ Hanley, *Saudi Arabia*.

about Islam, as will be explored in greater detail throughout this work. The Faith Matters Research Foundation report stated that 100,000 Britons converted to Islam during the decade between 2001 and 2011, compared with 60,699 in the decade up to 2001. The report added that there had been 1,400 converts to Islam in London in 2010 alone, which means that 5,200 British converted to Islam every year, when extrapolating this figure to other British cities.¹⁹⁴

Annually and throughout the year, thousands of British Muslims come to Saudi Arabia to perform Umrah and Hajj. These pilgrims are undoubtedly cultural symbols. Additionally, intellectuals engage in religious visits, to provide a British aspect to Saudi culture, through official cultural forums and private methods, such as literary clubs, universities, and cultural forums.¹⁹⁵ However, one could argue that a lack of Saudi cultural forums, both in the form of literary clubs or other outlets, affects the participation of intellectuals and non-Saudis during cultural seasons. In order to combat this deficit, visits should be organised for intellectuals and Britons seeking pilgrimage as the Hajj and Umrah seasons provide a major opportunity for Muslims in general to come together and engage in dialogue, in order to achieve the reality of a dynamic Islamic culture.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Jerome Taylor and Sarah Morrison, "The Islamification of Britain: record numbers embrace Muslim faith", (*The Independent*, 04 January 2011). Also, Richard Peppiatt, "Women & Islam: The rise and rise of the convert", (*The Independent*, 06 November 2011). See also "Surge in Britons converting to Islam", (*Faith Matters*, 06 January 2011), and "Report sheds light on rise in number of converts to Islam", (*Faith Matters*, 09 February 2011).

¹⁹⁵ "Cultural Clubs and Events Undertaken by Saudi Student in UK, Football Tournaments and Book Reading Groups", Saudi-British Society in London.

¹⁹⁶ Sultan Barakat, 2004. *Recreating trust in the Middle East*, (Counterpoint: London).

2.5.2 Factor 2: Productive Political Relations between the Two Countries

Since the unification of the Saudi state, and despite some political crises between the two countries in the decades following the establishment of Saudi Arabia, which blocked the exchange of cultural ties between the two countries, Anglo-Saudi relations have been characterised by mutual respect, co-operation and consistency.

For a variety of reasons, both countries drifted apart during two decades; the 1950s and 1960s, which made them unable to translate the powerful resumption of relations in the early 1970s into a meaningful political co-operation.

By ending those two decades of uncertain engagement, and unveiling a new framework for bilateral relations, Britain and Saudi Arabia harked back to a formulation that was made when King Fahd and Margaret Thatcher came to power in the 1980s. The two leaders met three times during their rule, and proclaimed that the prosperity and security of the Arabian Peninsula and Britain is indivisible and could be promoted through co-operation between London and Riyadh.

Preserving the security of both countries remains even more imperative in this current era of radical extremism, and such events have severely altered the international context of the new millennium.

From the 1980s onwards, Saudi Arabia became one of the key political, financial and military backers for Afghanistan, assisting British and American governments during the Soviet-Afghan war. Relations have improved since the 1990s, largely due to a convergence of economic interests which has led to unlimited co-operation with regards to security. As Britain discovered following Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, it was imperative to ensure the safety of the large

numbers of British nationals in Saudi, and Britain conducted strategic operations with the Saudi government to achieve her goal.

The international activities of the Saudi government and improvement of its foreign policy has been increasingly visible since the tragic events of September 2001. It also traces its influences on Anglo-Saudi bilateral relations and the increasing pressures imposed on the cultural aspects of both countries. “[While] recent events have renewed scholarly interest in the role of culture in international security [, politicians] scholars and practitioners have begun to interpret challenges like [...] the war on terror through the lens of national identity and culture.”¹⁹⁷

In January 2002, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on information sharing was signed, reflecting some common interests in counterterrorism, and the Saudi government also expressed an interest in joint training co-operation with the British government in different fields, such as the agreement with Vocational education that was established 2010. The Saudi government clearly recognises that a productive political relationship with Britain could act as a counterweight to events in the Islamic world. The Saudi government has always taken a more even-handed approach to any conflict, urging that it be settled peacefully.

At a time when religious extremism and international terrorism are threatening to undermine regional stability and security, the UK and Saudi Arabia are trying to translate the old convictions into practical policies. Developing a closer continuous political relationship, and co-operation in combating terrorism towards increased regional and global stability, both governments have made agreements, such as the

¹⁹⁷ Lantis, *Strategic Culture*, p. 3.

one with the Prince Naif Care Rehabilitation Centre, which acts against radicalisation in curtailing the activities of terrorists.

Diplomatic work over the last decade has allowed both sides to reassure each other of their political will in promoting a new partnership. Several agreements have been signed in security, trade, investment, and higher education, such as the agreement between King Saud University and Leeds, Edinburgh and Sheffield universities, and the international university in KSA “KAUST” which educates many British scholars.

Since 2001, Saudi Arabia has stepped up its diplomatic activities with the UK government and have held an annual summit, agreeing on several new initiatives. They have established forums for dialogue between senior civil servants, such as the Two Kingdoms’ Dialogue, investment forums, economic and financial forums, etc., and aim to bring the heads of government departments in Saudi and Britain together once a year. Their co-operation on practical matters became a feature of their relationship.

This period has seen great advances in the Anglo-Saudi relationship, and many instances where the two countries have worked together on issues of mutual interest. British troops currently serve alongside Saudis in maintaining the security of the Arabian Gulf and other areas. They work together in multilateral organisations, such as the United Nations (UN), where they co-operate on such initiatives as combating hunger in the developing world and mass disarmament. Since the Trade Exchange Agreement reached in 2002, the British and Saudi governments and have worked together within its framework to advance economic policy co-operation in support of reconciliation.

In an informal conversation with Daniel Kawczynski MP, the Chairman of the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Saudi Arabia, we discussed and analysed his opinions on the political relations between both countries. From his point of view, he considers that the UK and Saudi Arabia have a good relationship in terms of defence and counter terrorism:

“...if you remember, I think it was plane coming from Yemen where the guy wanted to blow it up with an ink cartridge. Saudi intelligence that ensured that the bomber was found and the plane didn’t explode. I wrote at the time to the king of Saudi Arabia to thank the Saudi security forces for doing that. I think they are very few people in this country will understand the extraordinary support the built country get in terms of security working together to deal with terrorism.”

He also considers that trade and business relationships are very good between the two nations, particularly regarding the defence contracts that the UK operates with Saudi Arabia:

“I think the defence contract is quite good, providing British fighter jets to Saudi Arabia. Saudi is a very strong country militarily, which is of profound importance for global peace and security. I can’t over emphasise this. A weak Saudi Arabia, who can’t defend herself, will have a global impact on peace and security and could potentially cause one of the worst recessions in the world because of the importance of the oil supply from Saudi Arabia. So that is extremely important; that’s why our Prime Minister recently visited Saudi Arabia just few weeks ago wanting to sell the Saudi some fighter jets. Because is extremely important for Iran not to see any weakness in Saudi Arabia, if they did see any weakness they will use it in the most profound, destabilising way and it may have massive ramifications.”

He also recognised that the UK relies on Saudi Arabian to keep the straits of the Arabian Gulf open and secure, “and more precisely the Arabian gulf not the Persian gulf:”

“We rely on Saudi Arabia to ensure that [ships] sailing through the Arabia gulf are secure and open and if they are

not then the ramifications of that will be on the global price of oil. That is good, that is positive.”

Hence, since the events of 2001 the two countries have overcome many obstacles. In recent years, especially following the visit of King Abdullah bin Abdul-Aziz to Britain in 2008, Saudi-British relations have gained significant momentum. As a result of those discussions, King Abdullah and the British prime minister, Gordon Brown, agreed to expand and develop relations in various fields, including politics, security, and economics.¹⁹⁸

The promotion of cultural relations has thus gained support from Saudi and British leaders, which is essential for the activation and subsequent enrichment of relations in this area. To build on this cultural institution, both countries must invest in this further and build on political support for the promotion of cultural relations between the two countries that already exists at the highest levels.

¹⁹⁸ Barakat, *Recreating trust in the Middle East*.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided an overview of the history of Saudi-British cultural relations before and after the unification of Saudi Arabia. It noted the ongoing inadequacies in bilateral cultural ties, in particular the limits placed on cultural relations. It seems that limits are restricted mostly to cultural exchanges being limited to one side, which may be described as “non-mutual” or “low-level” exchanges, and insufficient communication between the two nations due to differences, misunderstandings and political obstacles. The chapter also noted some structural obstacles, such as the limited representation that Saudi Arabia has externally, compared to the UK, in terms of both formal and non-formal organizations promoting cultural relations. Such structural obstacles will be elaborated further in later chapters.

It was also observed that the political and economic processes between both countries have accelerated markedly, although overall cultural engagement was apathetic, and attention was drawn to the fact that there were no historic mutual government visits at a high level from the period after the unification of Saudi Arabia until the late 1960s. From this point attention was drawn to the acceleration of events such as those that occurred in 1967, and including the following:

- The first Saudi visit to Britain by King Faisal
- A pre-agreement in cultural relations between the two countries
- Opening of the first British school in Jeddah
- Opening of the British Council in Riyadh

The potential for a better understanding between Saudi Arabia and the UK could be brought about through shared cultural experiences. For example, characteristics distinct of the two nations’ cultures, such as the seasons of Hajj in Saudi Arabia and the tourist season in Britain, and common factors, such as the excellent political

relations and economic and commercial interests that exist between the two nations. All of these factors should be taken into consideration as a foundation for future projects in establishing improved cultural relations between the two countries.

The terrible events of 11 September 2001 and the Second Gulf War of 2003, which was supposedly about Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), led to the myths about Saudi Arabia taking a very nasty and vicious turn. Tales of the noble Bedouin and historical legends of Muslim scholars of the past disappeared almost overnight, to be replaced with stories of terrorism and radical extremists:

“What upsets me? That the extremists monopolise the attention of the state and of the media. Nobody listens to Muslims that do not create any problem, who practice their religion in the private sphere.”¹⁹⁹
Aicha, 34, social worker, interview.

Some “anti-racists”, including the British Labour politician Bernie Grant, argued that if someone wanted to write or criticise another society then that individual should live in that society. For example, Salman Rushdie should live in Saudi Arabia “if he wanted to criticise Islam”.²⁰⁰

“The ‘War on Terror’ has resulted in the deliberate pursuit of domestic policies by the British state aimed at accommodating religious identity within public institutions[...], the state’s aim ostensibly has been to contain Islamist terrorism on British soil and to construct a moderate British Islam.”²⁰¹

Today, more than ever before, the British public recognise the international influence of Saudi Arabia, not only as the main producers of crude oil, but as a regional superpower, as a centre of Islamic values and Islamic culture, as well as a leader of

¹⁹⁹ H  lie-Lucas, ed., *Dossier 30-31: The Struggle for Secularism in Europe and North America*.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

the wider Islamic family of Arabs and non-Arab nations. Currently, more than 30,000 British Muslims from approximately two million Muslims in Britain, travel to Saudi Arabia every year to perform Hajj, the annual Muslim pilgrimage.

However, the potential for better understanding has always existed parallel to this reality and continues to exist on both sides. This has made the consolidation of existing cultural relations between the two countries – from educational missions, seminars and conferences, to scholarships, exchanges, and exhibitions – an important part of overall bilateral relations. Cultural bridges between the two countries are not a liability, or a sign of weakness of the national culture, but rather evidence of the deep historical facts and the openness of Islam.

Therefore, this work aims to be a foundation for further British-Saudi research to examine the role of this special link between both countries, in order to establish common ground and enable them to build cultural bridges and improve cultural and political relationships.

CHAPTER 3

THE EVOLVING CULTURAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA IN THE 1950S AND 1960S

INTRODUCTION

Culture is linked to all aspects of human civilisation. It is not possible to consider cultural relations between countries without mentioning the important events that have had a clear impact on those relations. Therefore, to discuss cultural relations means touching upon aspects of the community's culture – whether it be economic, commercial, social, or behavioural in nature – as well as the main events that have impacted on cultural relations between the countries in question.

This chapter focuses on the problems that have negatively impacted on political relations between the UK and the KSA during the 1950s and 1960s. The goal is not to explore who was responsible for the damage to the relationship between the two countries, but to examine the influence of the conflicts on cultural relations between both countries, as well as the impact of cultural understanding on each side, of the issues raised.

Resources for Saudi-British cultural relations are in short supply for this particular period. This raises the question of whether volatile political relations at the time explain this lack of cultural engagement. As such, this chapter will also analyse whether educational programmes established in the 1950s and the 1960s had a direct effect on the building of relations between the UK and the KSA, and examines the impact of these programmes on both nations. Finally, the discussion will highlight the

combination of moral, socio-political, and economic factors that have affected Anglo-Saudi relations in the period under examination.

The negative political relations between the UK and KSA in the period of the 1950s and 1960s led to a delay in any official cultural exchange between the two countries. It is probable that the political situation and the adverse events that occurred during this period, such as the Buraimi problem and the Suez Canal crisis, exacerbated the cultural gap between Saudi Arabia and Great Britain, and thus led to the lack of official cultural exchange between the two countries. One example of this, as mentioned earlier, is the delay in opening the British Council in Saudi Arabia until 1967.

Moreover, it is difficult to study this issue through available sources, as they do not address the very important non-official exchanges. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the official exchanges such as educational programmes, while considering the importance non-official cultural exchanges where possible.

Due to problems of documentation and the absence of archival records within Saudi Arabia, this thesis has primarily relied on British documents as well as on other sources, such as memoirs. According to Leatherdale, the British government's concerns covered political, strategic and oil factors, which required some rather extreme shifts in policy over the period under discussion, as the political environment changed dramatically.²⁰² Peterson argues that Britain was making private arrangements to secure her oil interests in Qatar, at the same time as Ibn Saud, for his part, was trying to entice the British government towards further compromise.

At the same time, so confident were the British government and oil companies of the supply of Saudi oil that there was little need to protest against American oil

²⁰² Melamid, "Review of 'Britain and Saudi Arabia 1925-1939'", pp.518-519.

activities. On the issue of social interactions between the two countries, he described this relationship as “embarrassing”, and interestingly, he refers to the “traditional isolation and historical writing” present in Saudi culture, as “Arabic language sources are not comprehensive.”²⁰³

The long history of Saudi-British confrontation still exercises an influence on relations between both states. In spite of this long history between the KSA and the UK, both peoples have either omitted or avoided a systematic study of each other’s cultural influences. In addition, a significant number of citizens in both the UK and the KSA are ignorant of many of the historical events or details of the history shared by the two nations. Both sides have painted a picture of the other party via transmitted opinions or omitted information, especially through the media.

Such an example of where this occurred was in 1973, in relation to the Saudi media’s solidarity with Egypt in its war against Israel. This was interpreted completely differently by Westerners than as it was in Saudi Arabia, especially as most people did have not TV and did not read newspapers.

This chapter sheds light on how certain aspects of Saudi thought have been interpreted in incorrect or erroneous ways, in particular by the UK. For the Saudis who came to the UK in the 1950s and 1960s, it was difficult to be exposed to the British education system, based as it was on eighteenth century European thought and classical ways of thinking, all of which was very different to what occurred in the Middle East in general, and Saudi Arabia in particular. All of this complicated and was made more challenging by parallel political tensions in the bilateral relationship investigated below.

²⁰³ J.E. Peterson, 2003. *Historical Dictionary of Saudi Arabia*. 2nd ed. (Published online by jepeterson.net).

3. Anglo-Saudi Disputes

3.1 The Buraimi Oasis

It is widely believed the Buraimi Oasis problem arose in 1954, when ARAMCO, a jointly-owned Saudi-American oil company, proposed exploring for commercial quantities of oil which existed near the Buraimi Oasis.²⁰⁴ However, boundary problems between Saudi Arabia and neighbouring Gulf countries in 1954 were at the centre of Anglo-Saudi relations even before recognition of the state.²⁰⁵

For example, in 1922 the extension of Saudi territory towards the north of the future state, by means of traditional raids, was halted by a series of treaties drawn up by British agents involving the creation of neutral territories.²⁰⁶ At the same time Britain co-operated with the Saudis in the country's expansion southward, with the result that in 1930 Saudi Arabia completely absorbed Asir, a British associate like Hejaz.

In the early-mid 1950s, British officials had profound concerns over the future territorial ambitions of the Kingdom. According to the British Ambassador to Saudi Arabia in 1955, there was a real danger that Najd tribes might venture into British Protectorates.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ J. Priestland, ed., 1992. *The Buraimi Dispute: Contemporary Documents 1950-1961*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).

²⁰⁵ Apparently, the original source of erroneous reports about the Buraimi dispute came from the British Embassy Eastern Department in Jeddah. The British Ambassador wrote on 22 January 1956: "Since 1955, Saudi Arabia is regarded at the start of its deplorable maturity. Looking back on it I am struck most by the appalling growth of Saudi vanity and arrogance. The Saudi rulers have in the past year achieved a position in the Middle East which they conceitedly regard as that of a major power." See letters from Eastern Department No. 11 (1011156). Ref: FCO 371/27157.

²⁰⁶ Richard N. Schofield, 2008. "Laying, it down in Stone: Delimiting and Demarcating Iraq's Boundaries by mixed International Commission", *Journal of Historical Geography*, (Elsevier: London), vol. 34 (3), pp. 397-421.

²⁰⁷ Ambassador of British Embassy, Jeddah, 22 January 1956. Report of Saudi Arabia 1955. No. 11 Ref: (1011156) FCO 371/127157.

With regards to Buraimi the tensions between the two Kingdoms were based on grievances over border demarcation. The dispute reached its peak in 1955 when the United Kingdom seized the oasis of Buraimi by force. Relations worsened following the British government's decision to set aside the arbitration agreement and move against the Buraimi Oasis and other disputed territories situated in the southeast of the Kingdom. The Saudi Government of King Saud attempted to peacefully resolve this problem, but all efforts were to no avail. Leatherdale argues that there were a number of different, very straightforward explanations regarding the crisis, but more than one of these combined together seem satisfactory to ignite the situation. There are two main interpretations; firstly, the problem was only exacerbated after the exploration for oil resumed in the eastern and south eastern region and brought in major revenues to the country. During that time, the Saudi Arabian government faced a huge loss of revenues due to a reduction in pilgrimage rates during the recession. The second interpretation is that the Saudi Government understood that the British Protectorates were carefully orchestrating a plan to weaken the Kingdom and thus refused to compromise on the issue.²⁰⁸

The report of the British Ambassador KSA further complicates this argument; his 1955 report on Saudi Arabia indicates that the Buraimi problem had existed for a long time. The Ambassador writes, "The main cause of the serious deterioration in Anglo-Saudi relations was the Buraimi dispute, which became more acute in 1955 than at any time in its twenty year history."²⁰⁹

On the other hand, Shafi Aldamer argues that the British government had fundamental reasons for opposing arbitration of this issue, and that Britain created the

²⁰⁸ Leatherdale, *Britain and Saudi Arabia 1925-1939*.

²⁰⁹ Ambassador of British Embassy, Jeddah, Report of Saudi Arabia 1955. No. 11, 22 January 1956. Ref: (1011156) FCO 371/127157.

Buraimi disunity, and fuelled other conflicts between tribes in British Protectorates and Saudi Arabia. These quarrels, taken in their entirety, led to the erosion of Anglo-Saudi relations, which consequently led to the replacement of the British relationship with the American partnership, a partnership that remains strategically important to this day.²¹⁰

Despite tensions over disputed territory, the Saudi government was pushing for wider cultural relations at this time. The British Mission in Jeddah managed to convince the FCO of the merits of opening a technical school in Jeddah. A report titled “Education in Saudi Arabia”, sent in May 1950 to the FCO in London, refers to several discussions in the past with regard to a Saudi request to have a technical college. The officer in charge believed that meeting the Saudi demand should be achieved in connection with the British government’s plan, already in place, to build a technical school in the Gulf area, presumably in Bahrain.²¹¹ British officials in Jeddah sent a letter to the FCO in London reporting a decision made by the Ministry of Education in Riyadh to introduce English language lessons in primary schools in Hasa, to teach the Qur’anic curriculum. The letter also indicates that the Ministry of Education would recruit foreign teachers from remote and rural areas of Egypt, Sudan and Palestine. The letter shows members of government missions were encouraged by the Saudi government to send their sons to private schools at public expense. It reflects the gratification of the British Mission in Jeddah for the announcement made

²¹⁰ Shafi Aldamer, 2003. *Saudi Arabia and Britain: Change Relations, 1939-1953*, (Ithaca Press: Portland) p. 277.

²¹¹ Letter from Cultural Relations Department, Jeddah to the Ministry of Overseas Development London, 24 May 1950. Ref: FCO 371/ 120772.

by the Viceroy of Hejaz in his Islamic Year speech of opening a Religious school and an Arabic school as well as many evening schools for teaching English.²¹²

From the Saudi Government's perspective, opening English evening classes gave Saudi civil servants an opportunity to learn or improve their English language in their spare time. Nonetheless, some members of ultra-conservative groups were uncomfortable about this official move.²¹³

To a certain extent, this affair underscores the Saudi government's special efforts to encourage her citizens to learn a foreign language. The view of Saudi authorities at the highest level was reflected by the Viceroy of Hejaz about the importance of English schools as the route to reviving the country's strength. Changes in the education system were particularly crucial to building a modern state that had been infused into the Islamic discourse. Caught in a high-risk balancing act, reformers had to counter the religious hardliners in order to be able to continue making changes. While disagreeing among themselves over different Islamic issues, hard-line scholars concurred that requisite national and Islamic integrity could only be preserved through rejection of Western culture.

The saga began on 26 October 1956, with the Trucial Oman Scouts, a paramilitary force raised and trained by the British during the occupation of Buraimi Oasis. The Saudi Government expressed deep suspicions over British incursions and mobilised the Arab League and the media and accused Britain of violating the United Nations Charter.²¹⁴ The Saudi Arabian minister of foreign affairs expressed his

²¹² A letter from the British Embassy in Jeddah to the FCO in London dated 21 March 1950, British Archives, London. Ref: FCO 371/ 120772.

²¹³ Letter no. FCO 2145/814 from the British Embassy in Jeddah to the FCO in London on 26 May 1952. British Archives. Ref: FCO 371/ 120772.

²¹⁴ A major diplomatic exchange was observed in a full translation of the note by the Acting Head of the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 27 October 1955. This translated letter says: "The Saudi Arabian Government does not consider that there is any difference between them and the

government's anger in a letter dated 27 October 1955, to the British Embassy in Jeddah. The letter included a profound protest against the British Government's action and the motives behind occupying the Buraimi area, while it was being dealt with by the arbitration Tribunal.

Regionally, the impact of British dispute over the Buraimi Oasis Saud "headed the Egyptian and Syrian coalition for neutrality, a policy taken to oppose the Iraqi call for a Western-sponsored defence system. Pacts were thus signed in 1955 between Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia."²¹⁵

By all accounts, there was growing outrage in Saudi Arabia over the British military adventure. It was more difficult for Saudis to comprehend the attack, while they had continued to believe that the dispute should be left for the arbitration tribunal to make its own impartial decision. The Foreign Ministry's statement, issued in a verbal note on 27 October in Riyadh, warned: "The Saudi Arabian Government strongly protests against the British Government's action in occupying the Buraimi area. The Saudi Government do not recognise the ruling given by the British Government concerning the frontiers between Abu Dhabi and Saudi Arabia, and they consider that the unilateral declaration of this ruling is valueless and inconsistent with international law and the United Nations Charter."²¹⁶

Sultan of Muscat and Sheikh Abu Dhabi, but the difference between them and the British Government who have imposed their will upon these rulers in order to achieve their own private aims. The letter also requested the withdrawal of the British forces from the disputed area and the reversion of the situation to its natural state, in earnest good will." (Telegram No. 290 from the British Embassy Jeddah to Foreign Office, London, on 28 October 1955). See also a confidential letter no. A1081/338, dated 26 October 1956 from the British Embassy in Washington to the FCO London (British Archives, London) and telegram no. A1081/336, dated 26 October 1955 from the British Embassy in Bahrain to the FCO (British Archives, London). See also telegram no. A1081/336, dated 26 October 1955 from the British Embassy in Bahrain to the FCO (British Archives, London). Ref: FCO 371/114623.

²¹⁵ Nehme, "Saudi Arabia 1950-80", pp. 930-943.

²¹⁶ Ambassador of British Embassy, Jeddah, 22 January 1956. Report on Saudi Arabia 1955. No. 11. Ref: (1011156) FCO 371/127157

In the face of such pressure, Saudi Arabia pursued a remarkably steady effort to convince the British government to go back to the negotiation table after Sir Reader Bullard withdrew from the arbitration tribunal, albeit while initially trying to ensure that “friendly” relations remained. Moreover, King Saud tried through a series of press interviews and remarks to convey his willingness to solve all disputed issues with the UK. However, Winston Churchill, the British prime minister, did not pick up at all on King Saud’s initiative. King Saud’s chief concern, rather, was that the British military intervention would represent an unprecedented act of aggression against the most important Islamic country in the region, which was viewed in much of the Arab world as evidence of British expansionism and imperialism.²¹⁷

Sefton Delmer, foreign editor of the *Daily Express*,²¹⁸ visited Saudi Arabia in 1956 and discussed with King Saud matters of public policy, in the Alhambra Palace in Riyadh. King Saud confirmed during this meeting that he did not wish to resume talks with the United Kingdom to reach an agreement in order to restore the Oasis of Buraimi to Saudi Arabia, instead, he was “keen on” the traditional friendship with Britain, and would like to see it flourish, as in the past. King Saud reminded the senior journalist of the fact that, when tension escalated between the Saudi government and the British government, he at once wrote a letter to Churchill, in September 1954, to express his anger and pain over the deterioration in relations between the two countries and reminding him that the issue of Buraimi was likely to drag Saudi Arabia to the brink of war in the foreseeable future.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Telegram no. A1081/346 from the British Mission in Jeddah to the FCO on 27 October 1955. Ref: FCO 371/114623

²¹⁸ Sefton Delmer, “Express chief foreign affairs reporter Delmer spends a weekend of Arabian splendour and tell of ‘The King and I’. Desert ruler says hands off. Meeting with King Saud”, (*Daily Express*, 06 February 1956), p. 2.

²¹⁹ Peter W. Wilson and Douglas F. Graham, 1994. *Saudi Arabia: The Coming Storm*, (M.E. Sharpe: New York) pp. 95-96.

The King was certainly concerned about the polarisation manifested in the region after the military coup in Egypt, with its particularistic features such as Arab-nationalism, political Islam, and communism. However, it would be wrong to treat Arab countries as unitary actors supporting Arab nationalist agendas, as this obscures the competition to influence strategy that took place within each country. For example, Jordan was more inclined to support the British than Saudi Arabia. A confidential telegram sent from the British Embassy in Amman, Jordan to the Foreign Office in London, indicates that the Jordanians were apprehensive about the Saudis' "pernicious activities". The support of the Jordanian Government had a substantial impact on the mood of other countries, such as Iraq and Pakistan.²²⁰ Not surprisingly, Arab radicals took a more hard-line approach. Though British embassies in the region were well used to dealing with public protests, the polarisation was much wider in scope and received widespread support from citizens other than Saudis. It also represented considerable posturing by individual countries in the region, and different international actors who lined up behind the Saudi claim that the British military response to the crisis was driven by imperialistic interests.²²¹

King Saud stressed on several occasions that friendly relations could only be safeguarded if Britain withdrew its Trucial Oman Levies, and recognised Saudi sovereignty over his ancestors' territory. Such unprecedented talk indicated the high level of importance Riyadh attached to making its sovereignty on Buraimi clear to London and reflected a degree of unease by King Saud over British military interest in the region. A major challenge facing the King, which had definite cultural overtones,

²²⁰ This telegram from the British Embassy indicates that neighbouring countries played an even more important role in the crisis: (Telegram No. A1081/355), 27 October 1955). Ref: FCO 371/114623

²²¹ In a statement issued on 27 October 1955, Prince Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz calls for the UN, the Security Council and International Court to meet to investigate an unprovoked aggression of Britain. (Telegram No. EA1081/349/1554 delivered on 28 October 1955 from Cairo/Eastern Department. Ref: FCO 371/114623).

was how to explain to his citizens the hawkishness of some sections of the British government on a matter already under arbitration.²²²

When King Saud talked to western media outlets he showed great frustration. He pointed out that British moves had clearly been prepared well in advance but noted that in the minds of normal Saudi citizens and tribal leaders there was little desire for military conflict breaking out between the two countries. King Saud also emphasised the role of leaders on both sides to calm down the situation, as he was very committed to continuing “the traditional friendship.”²²³

At this time, British policy towards Saudi Arabia was clearly based on the strategic/economic significance of the KSA and the extent to which its rulers were able to continue to serve as a strategic ally to the UK’s interests. The British government was also concerned about the internal tribal and political situation within Saudi Arabia, in addition to British protectorates in the Gulf area.

All in all, the Buraimi crisis from beginning to end was an example of miscommunication and misunderstanding, complicated by the many emotional currents of that particular time. Britain was also concerned over Saudi natural resources and the ways in which the Saudi government was trying expand its territories at the expense of resources belonging to British Protectorates in the Gulf.

According to the British Ambassador’s 1954 annual report, the national unification of Saudi Arabia was a deeply cherished dream by virtually all Saudis and was widely recognised by all Arabs in the Middle East.²²⁴ The following year, the

²²² Statement by Prince Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz on 27 October 1955. Ref: FCO 371/114623

²²³ Telegram no. EA1081/357 from the Eastern Department, Jeddah sent to the FCO London on 29 October 1955. Ref: FCO 371/114623

²²⁴ In a declassified FCO report made by the British Ambassador, Jeddah: “There seems little doubt that such a policy of aggrandizement [is], blind to the best interest of Saudi Arabia herself in the long run [...] Having failed in a bid for power in the countries of their upbringing they transferred their allegiances elsewhere, where their knowledge of Western diplomacy was an asset. It was

Saudi Ambassador in London, Sheikh Hafiz Wahba, was recalled by his King, which led to a tense correspondence between London and Riyadh as to the ambassador's status.²²⁵

3.2 The Suez Crisis

The military occupation of Buraimi Oasis motivated harsh rhetoric against Britain from some sections of Saudi society and from Arab nationalists, particularly in Egypt who were eager to put the issue of the Buraimi occupation firmly at the top of the regional agenda. Muslim conservatives played a role, in part for political reasons, to match the euphoria of Arab nationalism, which had erupted throughout the whole Middle East after the 1952 revolution in Egypt.

In part, these complicated internal Arab issues slowed down a resolution of the Buraimi problem, but the primary reason was the failure of the KSA and UK to resolve differences on numerous levels. One victim of this diplomatic stalemate was bilateral cultural relations. There was an inevitable slowdown in this area in the wake of the crisis – cultural exchanges, educational programmes and student exchanges dried up in recognition of the problematic, ambiguous and unstable political relationship.

While Saudis were doing what they could to re-establish normal relations with Britain in the wake of the Buraimi crisis, an armed aggression against Egypt took place. The Egyptian government had nationalised the Suez Canal Company. Britain

unfortunate that it should be to the one Middle Eastern state that has not known any form of Western domination. As a consequence their energies have not latterly been directed to a specifically patriotic goal, but spill over instead in a vague will to power, a self-assertiveness which finds its expression in any and every anti-Western cause.”(Report No. EA1081/34). Ref: FCO 371/127157.

²²⁵ A confidential letter from the Foreign Office addressed to the Eastern Department in Jeddah on 09 November 1955. Ref: FCO 371/114623.

and France entered into an alliance with Israel to end this nationalisation and to defeat the nationalist leadership of Jamal Abdul-Nasser in Egypt.

In response, the Saudi government announced an end to diplomatic relations with Britain and France.²²⁶ The Anglo-French-Israeli triangular attack on Egypt led King Saud bin Abdul-Aziz to cut ties with Britain and to block British shipments and supplies from Saudi ports. In addition, King Saud asked the US owned ARAMCO to stop oil exports to Britain, and the King joined the first Arab oil embargo against the UK, in support of the Republic of Egypt.²²⁷

A communiqué from the Saudi foreign ministry was handed to the British Mission in Jeddah, recalling the Saudi Ambassador in London. Breaking off diplomatic relations with Britain was a symbol of Arabism, and a condemnation of the aggression against “sisterly” Egypt. Amid such a political atmosphere, a special correspondent of the *Times* newspaper summed up feelings on November 2, 1956. “The Deputy Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, Youssef Yassin, expressed his conviction that the British government gave Israel the green light to go ahead with its plan to occupy the Canal Zone. He reaffirmed the intention of the Saudi Arabian Government to honour its bilateral agreement to give Egypt any support she required but said that no military support had yet been asked for. [...] The crisis also highlighted the Egyptian influence in Saudi Arabia and the popularity of Nasser, as well as the widespread bitterness felt towards Britain...”²²⁸

The Suez affair was significant because it was the first crisis with both regional and international implications. Interestingly enough, in spite of relations

²²⁶ Anthony. H. Cordesman, 2003. *Saudi Arabia Enters the Twenty-First Century: The Political, Foreign Policy, Economic and Energy Dimensions*, (Praeger Publishers: Washington DC).

²²⁷ Nonneman, “Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001” pp. 631-661.

²²⁸ Telegram No. ES1052/4 from the British Mission to the Foreign Office, 06 November 1956. Ref: FCO 371/127157.

between the Kingdom and Britain being tense during the Buraimi crisis, Suez did not reach a point of cessation of diplomatic relations, and telegrams sent from Jeddah on 03 November 1956 to London said that staff in Jeddah had noticed no significant change in the local atmosphere. Nevertheless, employees of ARAMCO, and Saudi citizens in particular, were acting to ensure there was no direct contact with the British Mission in Jeddah, to show their solidarity with the Egyptians against British hostilities. A confidential note from the FCO on 08 November 1956 proposed asking the help of the Pakistani President, Iraqi officials and Washington to persuade the Saudis to accept some kind of arrangements for Consular relations to continue, even though diplomatic relations were almost non-existent.²²⁹

There is no doubting the British desire at this time to improve relations with Saudi Arabia. In a record of the conversation between Britain's Selwyn Lloyd and Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the U.N., in Geneva on 10 May 1959, it was clear that Lloyd's government was keen to pursue any path at that "might help to get things going again between the Saudi and ourselves."²³⁰

Without question, the Buraimi incident and the Suez Crisis had an immediate impact on the bilateral relations between Saudi Arabia and the UK. Both crises highlight the importance of cultural exchange at the time that there was a lack of a formal British cultural presence in Jeddah. Had the British Council been in existence before the Suez Crisis, the Saudi elite would have been better informed, especially as the British government played a crucial role in securing a ceasefire in Egypt.²³¹

²²⁹ Confidential note no. ES1055/7, titled "Anglo-Saudi Relations" by D.M.H. Riches, dated 08 November 1956. (British Archives, London). Ref: FCO 371/127157.

²³⁰ Record of Conversation between Secretary of State and Mr. Hammarskjöld in Geneva on 10 May 1959. Foreign Office and Whitehall Distribution. Copy 3. (British Archive, PREM 11/4446). Ref: FCO 371/104874.

²³¹ Confidential letter no. ES1052/4/6 on 06 November 1952, signed by D.M.H. Riches. (British Archives, London). Ref: FCO 953/1420.

Although initial reactions to both may have been somewhat overblown due to miscommunication and misunderstanding, significant emotional currents and the interference of Nasser of Egypt subsequently both countries demonstrated renewed energy and a determination to achieve their objectives through diplomacy rather than a stand-off. This was the message of the newly elected Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan. His message to King Saud on 22 April 1959 was a bold act of statesmanship. He passionately emphasised the need for the full co-operation of the political leaders of both Kingdoms.²³²

Although the Suez Crisis subsided quickly, it had a profound impact on the balance of power within the Middle East, and on the responsibilities assumed by the United States there. The war tarnished the British and French reputations among Arab countries, profoundly undermining the traditional authority of the two European powers in the region.

The strong reactions across the Islamic world were championed by Saudi Arabia and this move increased Saudi status and standing in its home region and beyond, especially in the Muslim world.²³³

The close friendship between Saudi Arabia and the United States also gained enormous momentum during the Suez Crisis. Officials in the Eisenhower administration believed the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was of vital importance in the Middle East by virtue of its spiritual, geographical, and economic position. President

²³² It should be noted that while the Arab public opinion was calling for harsher action, the two Kingdoms had very good high level contacts. "I am most glad that you have consulted us on a problem of such great importance to our two countries. The existence of this and other problems of wide scope in the area seems to point [to] the need for some easier and more orthodox means for regular exchanges of views, such as would be provided by the resumption of diplomatic relations." Message from the Prime Minister to King Saud, 1959. (British Archive, London. PREM11/4446). Ref: FCO 371/104874.

²³³ Qassem Jamal Zakaria, *King Saud bin Abdul Aziz Research and Studies: The Egyptian-Saudi Relations in the Reign of King Saud bin Abdul Aziz*, (vol. 4, Circuit of King Abdul-Aziz, Riyadh, 1429 AH) pp. 433-437.

Eisenhower was intent on launching bolder and more aggressive diplomatic initiatives aimed at giving the Kingdom a higher profile on the international stage.²³⁴ Moreover, America strived to develop King Saud and enhance his stature in the Islamic world with a view to countering Soviet-Egyptian attempts to achieve regional dominance.²³⁵

3.3 The 1967 War and its Impact on Political Relations

In the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Saudi Arabia was keenly aware of Nasser's potential to ignite the whole Middle East in flames. The Egyptian media propagated a strong anti-British stance, to convince the Arab public that the UK government was supporting Israel. As a matter of fact, the UK had adopted a more neutral or pro-Arab stand, to protect its oil interests in the Middle East. Foreign Secretary George Brown gave a speech that openly denounced the Israeli action against Arabs and demanded Israel return territories won in the war.²³⁶

In this regard, the British position was not too distant from that of the Saudis, which called for withdrawal of Israeli forces to their original pre-June 1967 positions. King Faisal told a British official in Jeddah that he hoped the war would pave the way for some kind of settlement to be agreed upon, though he categorically refused to support or endorse any direct talks between Arabs and Israel as he believed that

²³⁴ In his memoirs, President Eisenhower says: "The single meeting with King Saud arranged to discuss many issues in the Middle East and especially Saudi Arabian role. King Saud criticised the British policy towards the Arabs in general and Saudi Arabia in particular, which was based on keeping Arabs in a state of weakness and not providing any military capabilities, or contributing to the development of their domestic conditions and help them protect their external boundaries." *The Modern and Contemporary Arab Gulf History, 1996/1997*. Vol. 3, Cairo.

²³⁵ Nathan J. Citino, 2002. *From Arab Nationalism to OPEC: Eisenhower, King Saud, and the Making of US-Saudi Relations*, (Indiana University Press: Bloomington), pp. 107-108.

²³⁶ Britain's role before, during and after the Six day War was determined by its perceived self interest in the region. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan saw a secure Israel as source of stability in the Middle East. See, Moshi Gat, 2006. "Britain and the Occupied Territories after the 1967 War", *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, (Global Research in International Affairs Center (GLORIA): Herzliya, Israel), vol. 10 (4), pp. 68-80.

British government policy was quite acceptable.²³⁷ This was important as the British greatly recognised the importance of Saudi Arabia, and in particular the role of King Faisal (King's Saud's successor), in terms of the Arab approach to the conflict with Israel.²³⁸

In the midst of the political turmoil in the Middle East, King Faisal gave an interview to a West German television channel. During this interview, he rejected rumours that Saudi Arabia would lead an oil boycott against the West, and refuted claims in the Arabic media that his government was considering breaking diplomatic relations with the UK in response to the war as utter nonsense.²³⁹ To drive this point home the King's principal adviser at court, Rashad Pharaon, assured senior British diplomats that the Saudi Government had no intention of breaking off diplomatic relations with the UK.²⁴⁰

The rising fortunes for cultural and political relations, as seen above in the KSA-UK responses to the 1967 war, can be traced back, in the short-term at least, to 1964, the year that Faisal was crowned king. From this point on, Saudi Arabia showed a relatively greater willingness to capitalise on the close relations that King Faisal had built during his time as a Crown Prince and Prime Minister.

The King was very keen to build his country by rescuing the Kingdom's financial reputation and introducing measured modernisation policies in health, education and infrastructure. He came to power when there were grave political divisions and rivalries between "reactionary" and "revolutionary" states in the region,

²³⁷ Declassified telegram no. 462, dated 23 June 1967 from the British Mission in Jeddah to the Foreign Office in London. Ref: FCO 8/760.

²³⁸ Confidential letter from the Foreign Office in London to the British Mission in Jeddah on 16 November 1967. (British Archives, London). Ref: FCO 8/760.

²³⁹ Telegram sent by the British Mission to FCO on 23 November 1967, (British Archives, London). Ref: FCO 8/760.

²⁴⁰ Confidential letter from the British Embassy in Jeddah to the FCO in London, dated 28 June 1967. (British Archives, London). Ref: FCO 8/760.

demanding some unrealistic and uncompromising solutions to some deep-rooted problems.

Whatever the pressures exerted on him to break off diplomatic relations with the UK and the US, Saudi authorities sought measures and policies that in the final analysis, did not diminish unduly their sphere of influence within the Western countries. King Faisal adopted a different posture and began to reform education in general, in particular, women's education. In the presence of an encouraging political atmosphere, the UK was encouraged to sign the first bilateral Cultural Agreement.

3.4 Cultural Conditions and Change in Saudi Arabia and its Impact on Anglo-Saudi Cultural Relations in the 1950s-1960s

The Saudi-British Buraimi Oasis dispute, unlike Suez Crisis had, little or no impact on social change to the Saudis, whereas it had a much larger impact on the political relationship of both countries, creating tension and disturbing the stability of the bilateral relationship. However, that strained relationship did not include cultural relations for one reason; basically cultural relations between Saudi Arabia and Britain during the Buraimi incident were in their infancy, and no real cultural relationship had emerged between the two countries by this time.

However, during the late 1950s and early 1960s, "social change was a new reality in Saudi Arabia", which one of the reasons for the Suez Crisis became a major incident. The intensive media campaign towards Saudi Arabia by Nasser of Egypt stoked up nationalist ideas, which influenced Saudi society and produced "nationalist

tendencies.”²⁴¹ The result was the British behaviour throughout the Suez Crisis led to the deterioration of the image of Great Britain in many Saudis’ minds and helped the rise of Nasserism and nationalism within Saudi society. For intellectuals, change meant modernisation and reform, not nationalism. As Saudis began to feel that being a Muslim was a greater source of pride, a few “Saudis who were educated abroad, their call for modernization and reform was a result of their exposure to new experiences and a new way of life that they admired and valued” became a flame for all social and cultural change experienced by Saudi Arabia, and subsequently the route for any cultural relations with the West. King Faisal hired some of them as ambassadors, such as Gazi Alqusiby, and appointed others as ministers, like AbdulAziz Alkhoayter, the first PhD holder from the UK.

For example, despite the disturbing evolution of the Buraimi Oasis crisis events, it did not cause the severance of diplomatic relations between them. For example, in 1965 George Thomson said during a debate in the House of Commons:

“During my recent visit to Saudi Arabia there was a frank exchange of views on the Buraimi question. I am afraid that differences of opinion persist, but I was glad to find that it was possible to discuss them in a spirit of mutual understanding and against a background of wider common interests.”²⁴²

Also despite the international catastrophic impact of the Suez Crisis, and the interruption of diplomatic relations between the two countries because of it, trade and investment between the two countries was not influenced during the Buraimi crisis. The latter demonstrates how much relations between the two countries are based on common interests, despite the strain on cordial relations placed on both in certain

²⁴¹ Nehme, “Saudi Arabia 1950-80”, pp. 930-943.

²⁴² George Thomson, Oral Answers to Questions — Saudi Arabia (Buraimi), in the House of Commons 22 November 1965.

situations. However, it is possible to affect cultural relations between the two peoples because of these tensions.

Media

Since the 1980s, media and the rise of communication technology has changed the way people think about international connections. Television, radio, and newspapers make it easier to learn about other cultures and make cultural interchange possible.

However, Saudi Arabia was still a new state during the 1950s and 1960s, and it had to build an infrastructure and set up governmental institutions and public services, such as, health and education from scratch. In the first few years after the establishment of the nation, Saudi Arabia made early strides in the communications sphere. These included:

1. The establishment of the Saudi press. The first official newspaper ‘Um Al Qura’ was published in 1942, followed by a number of local newspapers, totalling 11 by the end of 1953.²⁴³
2. Saudi Radio began broadcasts on 01 October 1949, although these were limited to Jeddah. Riyadh Radio did not begin broadcasting until 03 January 1965.²⁴⁴
3. The establishment of the first TV broadcasting station on 07 July 1965, which was limited to one channel only in Jeddah and Riyadh. Broadcasting stations covering the whole Kingdom were not available until 1971.²⁴⁵

In addition, until 1955, the Saudi media was not in a position to cover the outside world. In part, this was due to the nature of Saudi society. When television was first

²⁴³ Abbas Tashkandi, 1999. *Print in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*. (1999) p. 43. See also, King Khalid Database, “A History of Journalism” (Arabic).

²⁴⁴ “Saudi Radio” (Arabic), (*Ministry of Culture and Information*, 11 June 2010). Accessed on 18 February 2015 <http://www.info.gov.sa/SectDetails.aspx?id=3>

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

launched, religious scholars rejected it and fought to have it banned as part of their determination to resist western influence and culture.²⁴⁶

Television was not the only minority pursuit. According to a UNESCO study at the time, more than 90 per cent of the Saudi population was illiterate.²⁴⁷ This meant that newspapers and other forms of written communication were also targeted to a minority of citizens. This reality had interesting consequences. A lack of engagement with the written word meant that there was almost no tradition of archives in the Saudi context, which made it difficult for the researcher of this period to find sources to gauge popular attitudes towards cultural relations with the UK or any other country.

Educational Exchanges and Travel

Until 1950 there were no Saudi students in Britain. In 1953 the first group of 19 Saudi aviation students sent by the Saudi government to study in the UK graduated from flight school. Thereafter, Saudi Arabia chose to send their aviation students to study in other countries, such as Italy and Egypt, instead of the UK, due to escalating political tensions over Buraimi and Suez.²⁴⁸ As noted in the previous chapter there were no official or unofficial cultural agreements until 1967.²⁴⁹

Nevertheless, one can chart the increase in travel and exchange over this period. There is no doubt that the expeditions to Arabia carried out by a number of British travellers or explorers provided a strategic benefit that helped the British to understand the region's affairs in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Notable

²⁴⁶ Ministry of Culture and Information, "Saudi TV", (Arabic), (*Ministry of Culture and Information*, 11 June 2010).

²⁴⁷ The Ministry of Education, 1996. *Development of Education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*. (National Report: Riyadh).

²⁴⁸ History of Saudi Arabia Airline, *Arabic aviation*. 2006. <http://www.arabic-av.com/forum/t1303/>

²⁴⁹ *The Modern and Contemporary Arab Gulf History*.

travellers included W. G. Palgrave, Lady Anne Blunt, Captain Shakespear, Gertrude Bell, T. E. Lawrence, Harry St John Philby, Bertram Thomas, Sir George Rindal, Sir Wilfred Thesinger, and Charles Doughty, among others.²⁵⁰ This kind of exploration was an essential component of bilateral exchange. However, exploits across the Saudi desert halted at the end of King Abdul-Aziz's era in 1952, again arguably due to the escalating bilateral disputes addressed above.

In the period between the start of the Buraimi dispute and the start of the Suez Crisis, there were Saudi scholarship students in the UK, though they made up only a small number of the 192 Saudis studying abroad in Egypt, Italy and the US at that time. Again, this was partly to do with the political situation, but it was also linked to the high cost of living in the UK compared to other places of study.

Although Saudi educational missions to the UK began in the early 1950s, it was only really in the wake of the Suez Crisis that this important form of bilateral cultural exchange gained momentum, and indeed it was only in 1962 that the Saudi Ministry of National Economy began to keep full records of student exchanges and scholarships. This means that neither precise nor sufficient data from the 1950s is available.

Figure 2 shows that Saudi student numbers in the UK steadily increased during the 1960s.²⁵¹ British-Saudi relations only fully recovered from the fallout of the Suez Crisis around 1962-63. In that year the number of Saudi students studying in Britain totalled a paltry 11. Within a year, as political relations improved, the number of students on Saudi scholarships rose to 27 students in the UK, and by the end of the decade there were over 100.

²⁵⁰ Eid Al Yahya, ed., 2006, *Travellers in Arabia: British Explorers in Saudi Arabia*, (Stacey International: London & Heritage Riyadh).

²⁵¹ Central Department of Statistics, 1965. *Statistical Yearbook*, (Ministry of Finance and National Economy).

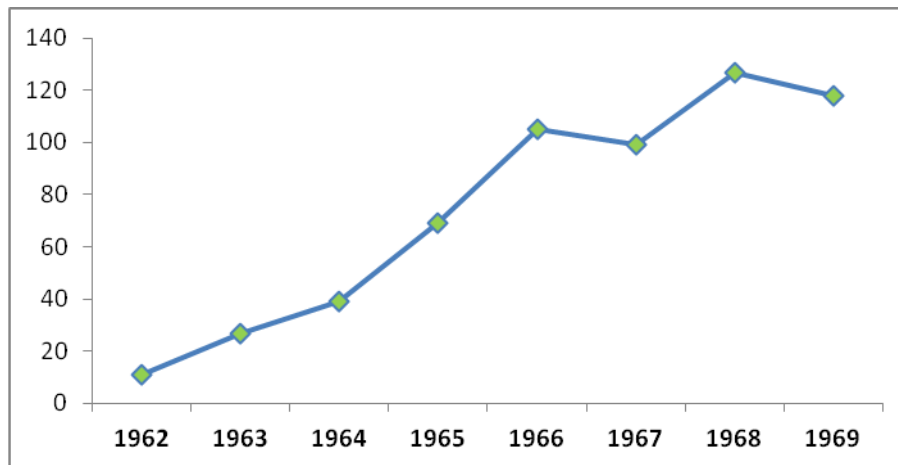


Figure 2: Saudi Students in the UK (1962-69)

Comparing the numbers of students in major European countries (Table 1) France, like the UK, also experienced a reduction in Saudi students in the early 1960s due to antagonism over the Suez Crisis, in turn there was a parallel rise in these years of Saudi students going to other European countries such as Italy and Germany.²⁵²

Years	UK	France	Italy	Germany
1962	11	64	50	107
1963	27	1	60	32
1964	39	88	120	342
1965	69	96	180	375
1966	105	34	144	277
1967	99	27	121	263
1968	127	31	84	266
1969	118	-	-	-

Table 1: Saudi Students in the UK, France, Italy and Germany (1962- 69)

²⁵² Ibid.

According to the Saudi Statistics²⁵³ as shown above, Germany had significantly higher levels of Saudi students than the other three countries in each year from 1962 to 1968, except in 1963 when Italy witnessed an increase to 60 Saudi students and German numbers fell from 107 to only 32. Britain and France continued to have the lowest numbers of Saudi students. For example, in 1965, there were 375 students in Germany, followed by Italy with 180, France with 96, and finally, Britain with only 69 students.

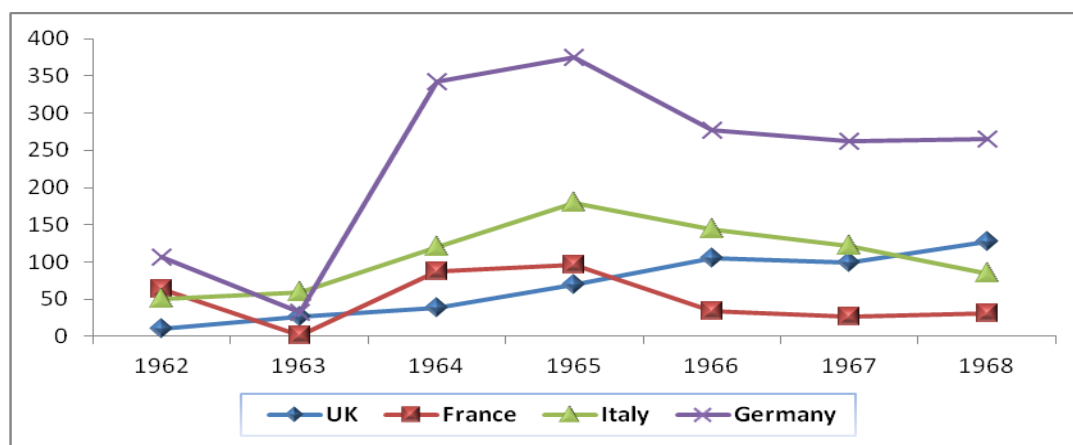


Figure 3: Saudi Students in the UK, France, Italy, and Germany (1962-68).

In terms of the total numbers of Saudi students over the seven year period from 1962 to 1968, Britain ranked third behind West Germany and Italy and ahead of France (Table 2). On the other hand, it is also true that over this period, as the memories of Buraimi and Suez faded, that Britain was the only country where numbers of Saudi students showed a steady improvement.

Countries	UK	France	Italy	Germany
Total	877	529	1,288	2,843

Table 2: Comparison of the total numbers of Saudi students in the UK with France, Italy and Germany (1962-68).

²⁵³ Ibid.

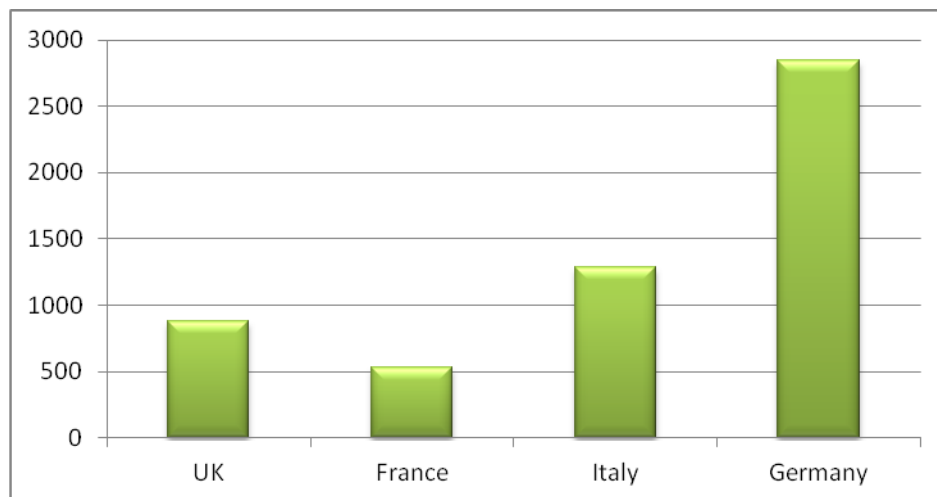


Figure 4: Total of Saudi students in the UK, France, Italy, and Germany by 1968.

By the late 1960s, the number of British and Saudi travellers was on the increase.²⁵⁴

According to Saudi Airlines data, passengers travelling from Saudi to London on Saudi Airlines began being recorded in 1967. The number of travellers during 1967, 1968, and 1969 was relatively low at 1,207, 1,185, and 1,722 passengers per year, respectively. Additionally, a counting of passengers arriving in Saudi Arabia from London began in 1968, when 1,579 arrived. There was a slight increase the following year as Table 3 shows.

	1967	1968	1969
Travelling	1,207	1,185	1,722
Arriving	-	1,579	1,926

Table 3: Statistics of Travelling and Arriving from/to Saudi/London by Saudi Airlines, 1967-69.²⁵⁵

It is clear from figures in graphs (5) and (6) below that those arriving in KSA from London numbered more than those travelling from the KSA to London in the last two

²⁵⁴ History of Saudi Arabian Airlines, *Arabic Aviation*.

²⁵⁵ Statistical Yearbook. pp. 283-295

years of the 1960s. This was because there were many more English people involved in working in Saudi than vice versa.

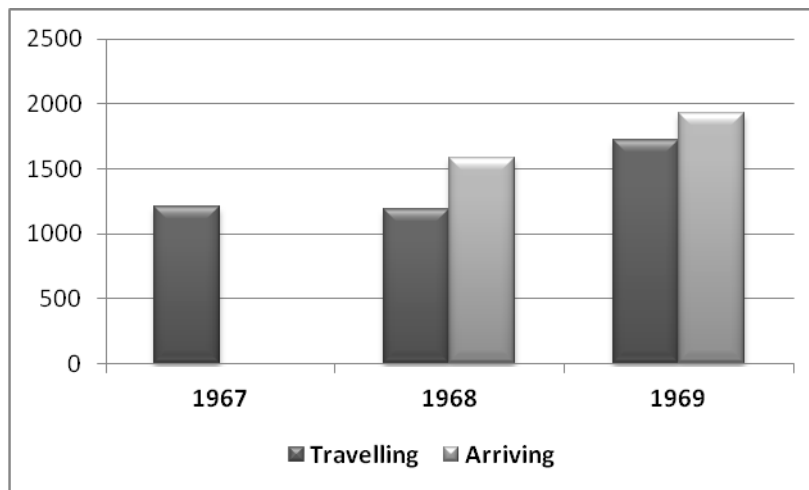


Figure 5: Number of passengers travelling to/from Saudi Arabia and London by Saudi Airlines, (1967-69).

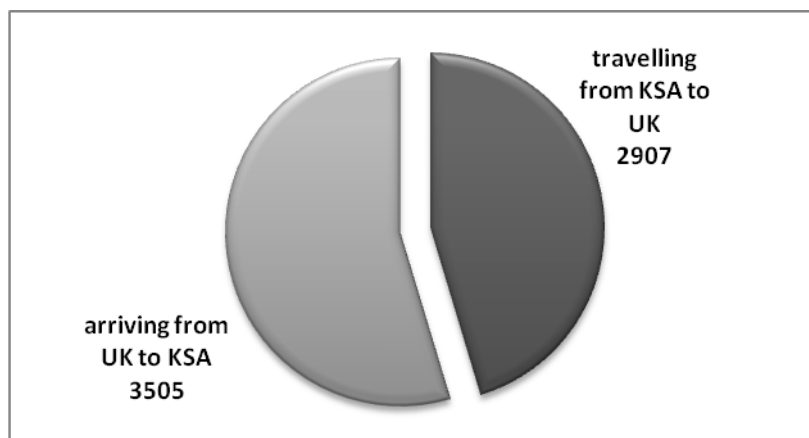


Figure 6: Total number of passengers travelling to/from Saudi Arabia to UK.

When these values are compared with other key European destinations – Frankfurt and Geneva – over the same period (Table 4 and Figure 7), there is a clear difference:

		1967	1968	1969	Total
Frankfurt	Travelling	816	-	155	971
	Arriving	-	16	260	276
Geneva	Travelling	477	27	124	628
	Arriving	-	25	175	200

Table 4: Numbers of passengers travelling to/from Saudi Arabia to other major European destinations by Saudi Airlines (1967-69).²⁵⁶

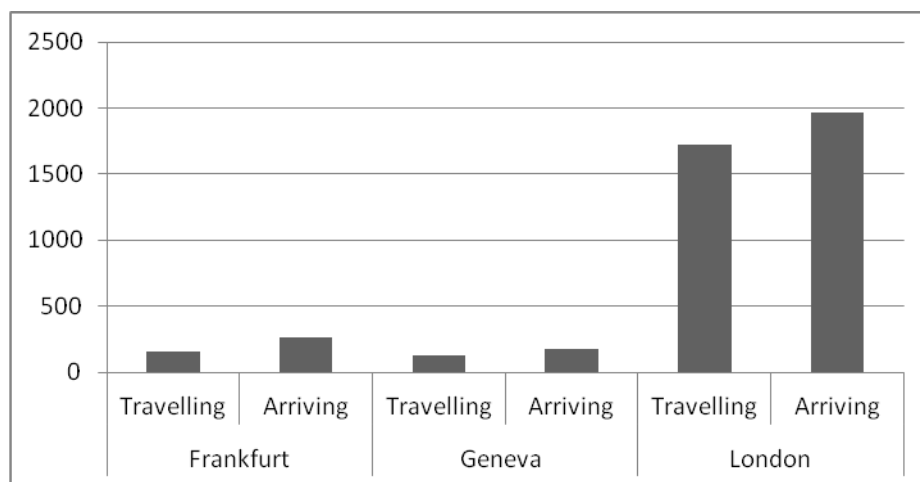


Figure 7: Comparison of numbers of passengers travelling to/from London by Saudi Airlines compared with Frankfurt and Geneva (1969).²⁵⁷

There is clearly a vast difference between the number of Saudi departures and arrivals in Frankfurt and Geneva compared to London, where numbers were much higher. The number of Saudi departures to Geneva was no more than 628 for the three years combined, while the number of people departing from Frankfurt, in the years between 1967 and 1969 was 971, compared to 1,722 travelling to Britain in 1969 alone.

In the late 1940s, one of the first public reports issued by the Saudi Ministry of Education examined the challenges that young Saudis faced in the realm of education. At the time there was no university in Saudi Arabia, and the overall education system

²⁵⁶ Ibid

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

was rudimentary. As a group they had not previously studied chemistry, biology, or any foreign language.

As a result of this report, in 1949 the Saudi government decided to create a school to prepare students for further studies abroad.²⁵⁸ Though the numbers of students that benefitted from this preparatory training cannot be confirmed because of the lack of data, it is known that a small number of young Saudis travelled to Britain for higher education and technical training in medicine, engineering, science, languages, and literature after completing their time at this school.²⁵⁹

However, it is notable that this training did not prepare students for the cultural challenges that they would encounter in the UK. What is known is that some of those young Saudis who spent time studying in Britain did return to Saudi Arabia and held respectable positions in the civil service, while others engaged in continual efforts to inspire their fellow Saudis to travel abroad for education and recreation.²⁶⁰

Despite this, the numbers were small, and Gerald de Gaury believes that the citizens of Saudi Arabia were greatly handicapped in terms of external engagement by their lack of education, and this reality ultimately expressed itself internally in future decades when an over reliance on foreign workers would create demographic and social problems for the country.²⁶¹

Although those graduates who returned to the KSA contributed to its development, it is not yet clear what the influence of direct learning and cultural interchange had on the individual students and on Saudi society more generally. There is no doubt that diversity can foster a climate of tolerance, flexibility, and

²⁵⁸ Report of Higher Education Ministry of Saudi Arabia in 1960

²⁵⁹ Aarts and Nonneman, *Saudi Arabia in the Balance*.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 37.

²⁶¹ Gerald de Gaury, 1946. "The End of Arabian Isolation", *Foreign Affairs*, (Council on Foreign Relations: Tampa FL, USA) vol. 25 (1), pp. 82-89.

responsiveness and can overcome negative perceptions and stereotypes.²⁶² On the other hand, experience of foreign culture and society can also complicate attitudes to one's home society and generate frustration towards domestic educational, social and political systems.

A novel by Abdullah Almajil, *Alienation II*,²⁶³ tells the story of a Saudi student who enjoyed a full scholarship from the Saudi government to the United States during the 1960s. Though the novel was criticised by many Saudis as superficially portraying the situation of Saudi students overseas, it does address clearly the frustrations and indeed alienation that can be a consequence of engagement with and immersion in other cultures and societies. As is often the case in many spheres of life, the ideal and thus the difficulty is in finding some sort of middle path between the two ways of life, through which balance can be reached. In this context there is no doubt that challenges aside, foreign students have functioned as agents of that transition, because they transfer to their own country their understanding of outside reality, and vice versa.

Cultural Understanding and Exchange

Anglo-Saudi cultural understanding was weak and actual bilateral cultural activities were inadequate for the entire course of the 1950s and 1960s. This era saw no conferences or exhibitions, no opening of cultural organisations and few exchanges in the realm of the performing arts and museums. Nor was there much in the way of the dissemination of publications and literature, or training initiatives and scientific research.

²⁶² Fouad Farsy, 1986. *Saudi Arabia: A Case Study in Development*, (KPI Limited: London).

²⁶³ Abdullah Almajil, 2005. *Alienation II*, (Saqi Books: London).

Apart from the political obstacles in developing such a myriad of cultural ties, it was also true that in these decades, the KSA was not ready – in terms of infrastructure, priorities or outlook – for scientific, literary and artistic exchanges. Saudi society still needed to develop and domestic education needed to be improved. As the British Embassy in Saudi Arabia in Jeddah reported home in 1963, “Prince Faisal aims to speed Westernisation; [...] He is also intent on economic development and has a sound financial basis for it [...] He needs speed in reform to avert revolution.”²⁶⁴

Moreover, the most important exchanges between the two countries during the 1950s and 1960s were related to military matters and trade, and these were hoped to indirectly develop friendly relations and consolidate ties at a government-to-government level. But at times of crisis, notably during the Buraimi affair, there was little thought of ameliorating problems by strengthening cultural ties on either side. For example, there was no move by the British to open a British Council office, as it had done in other Arab countries, even as far back as 1939 in the case of Egypt. But again, even this decision was not totally a function of political factors. At the time the British government was cutting the British Council’s budget and thus there was real concern over the additional expense of opening a base in Saudi Arabia. Indeed, it was only after eight years of discussion and in the context of the 1967 cultural agreement that a British Council office became a reality. Interestingly, in the course of those prolonged negotiations it was not political or social or even cultural matters that

²⁶⁴ Sir Colin Crowe to Mr. R.A. Butler, 15 January 1964. “Saudi Arabia: annual review for 1963”, BS 1011/122335. Ref: FCO 924/856.

delayed proceedings and final agreement, but wrangling over responsibility for the cost of the venture.²⁶⁵

The first British school was opened in Jeddah, and the British Council formally set up its first office in Riyadh with the aim of promoting bilateral, cultural and educational relations. According to one anonymous British official this would result in:

“A considerable long term political and commercial advantage from an Institute of this kind, to which would go Saudi of present and future importance who would thereby become to some extent oriented towards the UK, especially those who were attending the Institute as a preliminary to training in England. It would also provide the Embassy with a valuable link in the capital.”²⁶⁶

Once the British Council did establish a base in Saudi Arabia it was a steep learning curve on both sides. For example, it soon became clear that it was not possible to provide English language support for local students independent of addressing the social, cultural and even political implications. One important factor does explain the expansion of British Council programmes in the late 1960s, and that was Saudi’s rising oil wealth, and with it external engagement in Saudi Arabia, that often expressed itself in terms of the need to have English language skills.

²⁶⁵ Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on Cultural and Technical Co-operation, Riyadh, 23 November 1975. Treaty Series No. 22 (1976). London Archive, Ref: FCO 13/1835.

²⁶⁶ “Language laboratory. English language teaching in Riyadh,” (British Embassy: Jeddah, April 1967). 17432/8/67. Ref: FCO 13/ 6063.

CONCLUSION

Cultural relations are intertwined with politics. The effect of politics on Anglo-Saudi cultural relations in the 1950s and 1960s was complex. The Buraimi and Suez crises were caused by political considerations, but cultural misunderstanding between the two countries also resulted in a worsening of the political disputes, which in turn led again to a widening cultural gap. In addition, these crises partly occurred because of the lack of cultural interaction and exchange, which in turn had an impact on way that political relationship played out.

As a result of these two crises and the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Anglo-Saudi diplomatic relations ground to a halt between 1956 and 1962. This also had an impact on formal cultural relations between the two countries; the establishment of a British Cultural Representation in KSA was delayed until 1965; the British school and the official British Council were opened only late in 1967; and it took another eight years from 1967 to set up the first Cultural Agreement between the UK and KSA. However, by the late 1960s the first official declaration on KSA-UK cultural relations had been set out and plans to implement it had been launched.

Even then, KSA-UK cultural relations suffered from the reluctance of both Saudi and British elites to participate. This can be attributed to the worsening political situation between the two countries, but also by the priorities of state. Cultural ties were still of secondary importance as trade, borders, treaties and diplomacy led the way.

However it was also in the 1950s and 1960s that both governments began to gradually comprehend that economic relations and political co-operation could not be properly established without a credible cultural component. Even though during the Buraimi and Suez crises, the limited cultural tools at the disposal of both parties did

not influence the political relationship to any notable extent, this reality was becoming clear. As this chapter has shown, education led the way in this regard. In contrast to economic relations, cultural exchanges call for boundless co-operation, for new models of modernisation and reform in the educational sector, based on adaptation rather than submission to foreign culture. For example, in the early 1960s, the education model that King Faisal brought to Saudi Arabia was an advanced one, which was designed to take the best from modern technology without sacrificing the core values of Saudi society.

In the next chapter we will see “the strategy adopted to accelerate development manifested in the five-year plans proved to have significant political implications for stability during the 1970s, especially because the royal family had chosen to pursue a capitalist mode of modernization, thus upsetting the old existing values.”²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ Nehme, “Saudi Arabia 1950-80”, pp. 930-943.

CHAPTER 4

THE OIL BOOM OF THE 1970s: CULTURAL RELATIONS IN A TIME OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970s, as a pivotal country in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia's diplomatic influence has increased substantially, along with her growing economic importance as one of the world's leading oil exporters. By 1977 there was widespread consensus, in the words of Flora Lewis in *The New York Times*, that Saudi Arabia had "become a World power".²⁶⁸

As noted previously, during the 1950s and 1960s Anglo-Saudi cultural exchanges and institutional relationships were practically non-existent. Not surprisingly, the new economic boom at the dawn of the 1970s led to the UK engaging fiercely with Saudi Arabia for its own economic and political purposes. British diplomacy successfully managed to transform the low-profile Anglo-Saudi relations of the 1940s and 1950s into an institutionalised relationship, all the time carefully laying the groundwork for sound economic co-operation.

Unfortunately, to date very little attention has been paid to the subject of cultural exchanges between Britain and Saudi Arabia after the oil boom of the 1970s. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to examine the impact of this turning point in the international energy market and the growing wealth of Saudi Arabia, and discuss

²⁶⁸ Flora Lewis, "Saudis' Influence is Growing; Saud Arabia is Seen as Becoming Key Power in Political of Mideast", (*The New York Times*, 30 January 1977), p. 3.

how the viability of the Saudi Arabian development plan impacted on its policies of cultural relations since the 1970s.

This chapter will first examine the initiatives made by King Faisal to promote the abolition of illiteracy in Saudi Arabia and introduce basic education for both genders. It is remarkable to look at the outcome of King Faisal's early policies of educational development and how these helped to achieve a positive effect in fostering a strategy for establishing human resource development with the United Kingdom and the United States.

Secondly, this chapter sheds light on the trade links between Saudi Arabia and the UK, the second largest foreign investor in the Kingdom after the United States. It also examines the early role of the British Council in the development of Saudi society.

To better understand the success of Saudi Arabia's development plans, one needs first to consider the period between 1964 and 1975. On coming to power King Faisal, considered a very popular king in Saudi Arabia, was able to unify the royal family, and acquire the backing of religious scholars and the public. With the support of many religious hardliners, this allowed him to introduce a huge programme of modernisation. After convincing scholars that Islamic principles would not be sacrificed in the process, he cautiously made a significant step by opening up education to women, and he also established a judicial system by inviting legal experts from different countries to provide their opinion on the form it should take. More importantly, for the first time ever, he created ministerial portfolios, government organs and welfare programmes. Despite weak revenues from oil exports, King Faisal was far more successful than his predecessors at building a modern infrastructure, and

his enthusiasm was an important factor in creating agricultural and industrial subsidies.

In the early 1970s, the so-called “nationalisation of national energy resources” erupted throughout the whole of the Middle East and beyond. In the energy sector, in contrast to decades before, Saudi Arabia, which held a quarter of global oil reserves, for the first time asserted control over both price and production. This process began at the beginning of the early 1970s, but was subsequently consolidated during and after the oil crisis of late 1973. The most obvious consequence of this concentration of wealth was that the energy firms became largely instruments of the state’s political power.

Findings from several previous studies showed that due to its growing wealth Saudi Arabia emerged as an international power, forging ties with almost all states, rich or poor. In particular, these relations with the UK typically evolved around commercial trade and armaments. According to a report on Saudi Arabia, published by CWC Gulf International Ltd., relations between the UK and Saudi Arabia have expanded. The report stated:

“The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the UK’s 23rd largest export market, with exports worth £1.6bn. It is one of the UK’s largest trading partners in the Middle East and our largest export market in the region. The UK is Saudi Arabia’s joint 4th largest investor. Saudi Arabia owns about one quarter of the World’s oil reserves and has some US\$800 billion invested in the USA. Saudi Arabia is now looking to diversify by investing into new areas and countries. There has never been a more timely opportunity for British and EU business.”²⁶⁹

In an article titled “GCC’s investment in UK put at over \$208 billion”, the online newspaper *Emirates 24/7 news* wrote about the “Gulf States Days in London”

²⁶⁹ CWC Gulf, “CWC Gulf International in Saudi Arabia”.

conference, a three-day conference in London that told the story of the GCC-British relations and the power of Gulf investments in Britain. The paper reported on the considerable investment owned by members of the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) nations, who held an estimate of more than \$208 billion USD in Britain in both real estate and equity. Abdurrahman Alzamil, chairman of the Saudi industrial giant Alzamil, declared that “45%, amounting to around 60 billion pounds (\$94.6 billion), was invested by Saudi Arabia,” a leading global exporter of oil, “while nearly 72 billion pounds (\$113.5 billion) in capital in the United Kingdom was controlled by the remaining members of the six-nation GCC”. According to the paper, Alzamil praised the skill the British market had demonstrated in attracting such huge foreign investment into its country, however he questioned the reason why fewer British investments – approximately \$17 billion USD – were held in Saudi Arabia, adding, “the level is too low compared with the GCC’s investment in the UK”, despite the strong and long-standing relationship between the two countries. Therefore, Abdurrahman Alzamil demanded more British investment in various industries within the GCC, including oil services, foodstuffs and other sectors.²⁷⁰

In recognition of this, British companies sought to acquire and expand their foothold in the Saudi Arabian market, to export reputable British-made commodities in place of substandard regional ones. From a Saudi perspective Britain could be regarded as a precious source of support, as the Kingdom continued to pursue a course of cautious and selective cultural and educational development.

This was seen in 1975, when the Kingdom signed up to a convention on cultural relations with the British government. As a result, the British government agreed to the request of the Kingdom to expand the British Council facilities in

²⁷⁰ “GCC’s investment in UK put at over \$208 billion”, (*Emirates 24/7 news*, 20 October 2010).

several provinces. Over the years the British Council, Saudi officials and members of the business sector have deepened co-operation to boost English language training courses for their citizens.

4. Saudi Arabian Development Policies

The repercussions of improved international developments and “newly industrializing economies” called for widespread “joint initiatives and action” from all countries, especially the wealthy countries, prompting Saudi Arabia to rapidly contribute to drive the dynamics of international markets. Growing Saudi wealth not only enhanced the power of the Kingdom in the financial market, but also provided the country with golden opportunities to develop economic and social programmes for its citizens.

Following the first five-year Developmental Plan of 1970, investment in education and public services continued to rise, even in the face of regular global financial crises and economic downturns. The level of expansion in basic education made the Kingdom the largest investor in education in the Arab world. These trends can be traced back to the establishment of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1960 and its rapid development following the oil-price boom of the early 1970s.²⁷¹

Growing wealth stimulated the use of accumulated funds in the tenth five-year Developmental Plan in 2005 in other areas of the economy, such as petrochemicals, construction and finance. The current level of development made the UK the second largest foreign investor in Saudi Arabia, after the United States. There are currently

²⁷¹ Farhan Al-Farhan, 2003. *OPEC Policies and the Economic Development of Member States: the Saudi Arabian Experience and what is needed in the 21st century*. (The Centre for American and International law).

around 200 UK-Saudi Arabian joint ventures with a total investment estimated at around £13 billion GBP.

According to Al-Farhan, international industry has been widely dependent upon oil since the early twentieth century. Consequently it has had a powerful impact on the international economic system. For this reason, OPEC states have a potential influence in shifting the balance of power from the West, as it demonstrated in the early 1970s, which in turn led to rapid economic growth and development in Saudi Arabia.²⁷²

“By setting economic development plans, the government of Saudi Arabia promoted policies such as economic growth, increase [in] foreign investment and expand [sic] employment opportunities. [...] In 1975, Saudi Arabia had about 470 industrial plants with overall investments estimated at \$2.7 billion. By 2001, the total number of factories in Saudi Arabia exceeded 3,300 with a total investment of more than \$90 billion.”²⁷³

Like other OPEC members, Saudi Arabia had no national development plans prior to the formation of the organisation in 1960. In the 1970s, oil revenue increased hugely.²⁷⁴ Hundreds of billions of dollars in oil revenues poured into Saudi Arabian funds, but like other oil producers in the Middle East the Kingdom was very underdeveloped.²⁷⁵

According to the Frontline Educational Foundation, the Saudi population in 1975 was estimated at four million, with only half a million literate males. With such a sudden influx of funds into the Saudi economy, it was difficult to handle the sudden

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Khalid A. Alkhathlan, n.d. *Have been the Development Plans in Saudi Arabia Achieving their Goals? A VAR Approach*. (King Saud University, College of Business Administration), pp. 5-6.

²⁷⁴ Al-Farhan, *OPEC Policies and the Economic Development of Member States*, p. 5.

²⁷⁵ “Why This Oil Boom is Different”, (*Bloomberg Business week*, 12 March 2006).

wealth, so the government began a massive programme of buying and building.²⁷⁶ To take on the sudden requirements to build a communications and transportation infrastructure foreign workers flooded in, and a generous system of welfare benefits for all citizens was established in record time.²⁷⁷

Therefore, in addition to a massive restructuring programme, Saudi Arabia needed foreign expertise to confront such profound changes, including political, economic, social and cultural transformations. The existing inefficient education system needed to be re-structured to supply the labour market, in order to be able to participate in the international economy and “to cope with the requirements of new technologies”.²⁷⁸

Khadejah Alkhatlan, in *the Human Resources Development*, 1998, stated, “Therefore, attention will be focused on a new stage of developmental strategies in Saudi Arabia. The main two problematic issues with development are the educational system and its position on the development strategies, and the lack of a national labour force.”²⁷⁹

As such, Saudi Arabia began a long-term development policy aimed at improving conditions in Saudi society by creating, “a highly skilled and productive domestic workforce through an emphasis upon education, training and health provision”.²⁸⁰ The government established the first Five-year Development Plan in 1973, initially targeting education and the economy. However, from the start it was forced to obtain skilled labour from outside the country.²⁸¹

²⁷⁶ “A Chronology: The House of Saud”, *Frontline Educational Foundation*.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁸ Al-Farhan, *OPEC Policies and the Economic Development of Member States*, p. 22.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁸⁰ “Trade and Saudi Arabia”, *The Saudi Arabian British Bank*, March 2001, p. 4. www.sabb.com.

²⁸¹ Alkhatlan, *Have been the Development Plans in Saudi Arabian Arabia Achieving their Goals?* p. 3.

“[I]n the short to medium term allow the use of expatriate labour to overcome the skills shortage”²⁸²

“The lack of a local labour force is the result of an imperfect educational system, which is the quintessence for responding to the needs of developments plans. The development in Saudi Arabia is based on the oil industry, so that the real need is to work on human development to replace the huge amount of foreign skilled labour.”²⁸³

The commencement of Saudi Arabia’s rapid modernisation programme, which has been running since the early 1970s, is attributed to the efforts of King Faisal.

Although Faisal was a deeply religious man, he had the foresight to realise that if the country did not modernise and industrialise itself in a rapidly changing and competitive world, it would be in danger of becoming a backward state that was internally vulnerable and had little external political and economic influence.

Al-Farhan noted the two basic schools of thought within Saudi Arabia in response to this rapid change. The first school was led by those agitated by modernisation, fearing it would threaten societal tradition and stability. The second school, led by educated Saudi Arabians, supported modernisation and industrialisation. This group gained the support of King Faisal by ensuring that such modernisation and processes of development would comply with the nations unique and deeply entrenched religious beliefs. Such compromise satisfied those instinctively opposed to change and was vital to Saudi Arabia’s industrial development.²⁸⁴ Accordingly, it could be argued that such change in Saudi Arabia was established within the Islamic context.

“In a traditional and deeply religious state such as Saudi Arabia, any industrial development planning or modernity

²⁸² “Trade and Saudi Arabia”, *The Saudi Arabian British Bank*, p. 4.

²⁸³ Al-Farhan, *OPEC Policies and the Economic Development of Member States*.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

planning that did not give credence to religious concerns or that could be perceived as a threat to the Kingdom's traditions, would have been both politically dislocating and thereby doomed to failure."²⁸⁵

The sudden fortune, rapid foreign investment and openness to the world had significant social consequences for a very conservative society like Saudi Arabia. The community objection against what was not prevalent in Saudi Arabia at that time was the most difficult obstruction. Previously this traditionalism had prevented any cultural or social relationship with the West.²⁸⁶ During the modernisation process many conflicts bred within a religious establishment who assumed that innovation would bring threats to Islamic concepts and teachings. In encountering such conflict, King Faisal invited extremist Muslim scholars and professionals from Egypt and Syria to teach the youth, "his decision had far-reaching consequences", that made youths more radical.²⁸⁷ It was, in the final account, partly because King Faisal was viewed as a pious Muslim that he was able to introduce socio-economic reform during his reign.²⁸⁸

One of the most powerful examples of this kind of collision with conservative society happened in November 1979, when a group of Sunni extremists seized the *Haram*²⁸⁹ for 15 days, and killed more than 200 Muslims.

"The antipathy of the Ikhwan and the ultra-conservative Wahhabis to the Al Sa'ud never completely died away, as witnessed in the 1979 siege of the Great Mosque in Makkah. One factor in the disillusionment of the Ikhwan resulted from [King] 'Abd al-'Aziz's forbidding them from continuing their raids north into the British mandates of Iraq and Transjordan."²⁹⁰

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ "A Chronology: The House of Saud", *Frontline Educational Foundation*.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ The Holy Mosque in Makkah.

²⁹⁰ Peterson, "The Arabian Peninsula in Modern Times".

The *Ikhwan* had sought to declare of an Islamic caliphate and were against the modernity processes initiated by King Faisal, including the establishment of a television station.²⁹¹ “The radicals called for a return to pure Islam, and a reversal of modernization. Juhayman [Al-Utaybi] also accused the royal family of corruption and said they had lost their legitimacy because of their dealings with the West.”²⁹² As a result, and because Saudi Arabia was a very conservative country, it had to be very careful when choosing appropriate projects for the community. The situation was further complicated by the fact that influential extremist Islamic mainstream scholars had continued to convey a message about Western thought, including mandatory lessons and practices, which promoted a perspective of anti-Westernism.

However, in the years that followed these confrontations Anglo-Saudi relations have grown closer, and military and commercial co-operation has deepened, as will be examined in the next chapter.

The Anglo-Saudi cultural relationship responded swiftly to this shift in attitude. A series of high-level visits by officials quickly became a regular feature of this important trading partnership,²⁹³ and as Saudi Arabia looked to bring in western investment the UK looked to benefit from a Saudi strategic priority to make “national education and training policies”²⁹⁴ central to their national policy.²⁹⁵

Consequently, Saudi Arabia looked set to bring in Western investments, not merely for developing the country but also as a means of lessening some elements of extremism within its society, a concept now known as a “soft power”. Thus, the Saudi

²⁹¹“A Chronology: The House of Saud”, *Frontline Educational Foundation*.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Peterson, “The Arabian Peninsula in Modern Times”.

²⁹⁴ OECD, *High Quality Education and Training for All*, Meeting Of the Education Committee at Ministerial Level, 14 November 1990. SG/ Press (90) 69.

²⁹⁵ Lewis, “Saudi’s Influence is Growing”.

Government provided opportunities to use technology in innovative ways, despite the opposition of hardliners, and the emerging country began to shape itself as an international investment force.²⁹⁶

“Saudi Arabia is emerging as the dominant force in Middle East politics. [...] The shift actually began after the 1973 Middle East war, according to one experienced Middle Eastern diplomat, when the Saudis first realized that their economic strength might provide political leverage.”²⁹⁷

To this end, King Faisal led a well-articulated plan on developing the Saudi Arabian workforce by encouraging his citizens to enrol in formal education. King Faisal’s contribution to promoting the expansion of higher education should be commended. One aspect related to this research is the scholarships provided by the Saudi government to citizens to study abroad, which started during the 1970s in order to tackle this problem. Such initiatives were important, both in terms of building up a local workforce and in terms of developing cultural relations. Figures reveal that between 1970 and 1979, the Saudi Arabian government invested \$4 million USD for training and educational grants for citizens to study abroad.²⁹⁸

	1970	1974	1979	1985	1990	1995	1999
No. of Students (in 1,000s)							
Secondary	16	42	93	172	291	452	734
(Female only)	2	10	29	72	132	232	368
Universities & Technical	8	23	70	116	154	204	377
(Female only)	-	3	13	41	62	87	181
Overseas	2	5	10	8	3	4	7
No. of Schools	3,283	5,634	11,070	15,093	17,038	21,854	22,770
No. of Teachers (in 1,000s)	23	44	78	151	209	281	355

Table 5: Progress in Saudi education each 5 years from 1970-1999
Progress in Saudi Education: Ministry of Planning Estimate-Part 2.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ OECD, *High Quality Education and Training for All*.

²⁹⁷ Lewis, “Saudi’s Influence is Growing”.

²⁹⁸ *Progress in Saudi Arabia: The Ministry of Planning Estimate-Part two*. Saudi Arabian Statistic

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

With regard to higher education in Saudi Arabia, Table 5 confirms that from the start of the education reforms, there was a steady growth in the number of university and technical college students between 1970 and 1979. More specifically, the percentage of growth in both male and female students over the same period increased by 167.3 per cent. With regard to female students, the increase was most significant in higher education, reaching 35 per cent over that in 1970. In all cases, where there were different categories of higher education for women (academic and technical), growth increased by 775 per cent, an almost nine-fold increase.

By the same token, the number of Saudi Arabian trainees abroad increased by 400 per cent compared to the previous decade. This clearly indicates that policy changes at home resulted in a much greater flow of students studying abroad. Moreover, the education and school-building programme during the 1970s, with an increase in the number of schools and teachers in Saudi Arabia, reflected an improvement in the infrastructure of the country when the oil boom, followed by a thriving economy, attracted considerable investment.

4.1 British Investment in the Development of Saudi Society

4.1.1 Investments

In the autumn of 1968, the British government made a decision to withdraw a large part of its military forces from the Arabian Gulf. At the same time, the government declared that Britain was actively looking for opportunities to enhance its investment and economic role in the region to replace the political and diplomatic one of previous decades. As such, the British government began to explore the possibility of enhancing relations through investments, particularly in military hardware, construction and infrastructure.

In 1970, the British authorities and Saudi Arabia began to engage in military commerce by trading in air defence equipment. In 1973, they signed another deal, worth £250 million GBP, in which Saudi Arabia agreed to purchase the latest weapons, aircraft and missiles from the UK. In response, Britain pledged to send aircraft and nearly two thousand advisers, maintenance and military personnel to provide training for the Saudi Arabian military.³⁰⁰

Much of the training was provided at King Faisal Air Academy at Al Kharj, delivered in an intensive twenty-seven-month course conducted in English. Most instructors at the air academy, and at the Technical Studies Institute at Dhahran, were British nationals in a joint contract with British Aerospace (BAE – formerly the British Aircraft Corporation).³⁰¹

In October 1975, Crown Prince Fahd (later King Fahd) made a royal visit to Britain for the purpose of strengthening bilateral relations between the two countries. During that visit, both Britain and Saudi Arabia agreed to encourage trade between the two countries and signed a memorandum of understanding on economic, industrial and technological co-operation.³⁰² In 1975, Jonathan Aitken, a British parliamentarian who had close dealings with Saudi Arabia, addressed the House of Commons and stressed the importance of building strong relations with Saudi Arabia:

“I am painfully aware that the gap between British export potential and performance is the Achilles heel of our reputation in that vital area. [...] I believe that there is plenty of room for improvement in the Foreign Office’s own arrangements for promoting British exports. [...] Saudi Arabia, which is the most important export market of all in that area [Middle East]. If Britain is to win the glittering export prizes held out to us by the remarkable £80,000 million five-year plan of Saudi Arabia,

³⁰⁰ “Britain to Assist Saudi Arabian Air Defense”, (*The New York Times*, 11 May 1973).

³⁰¹ Federal Research Division, 2004. *Saudi Arabia: A Country Study*, (Kessinger Publishing, Washington DC, USA), pp. 278-285.

³⁰² “Britain and Saudi Arabia Plan to Increase Trade”, (*The New York Times*, 23 October 1975).

the Government and our top export companies must become much more active in that kingdom, where Britain has hitherto been conspicuous largely by her absence.”³⁰³

Throughout the Middle East conflict, Saudi Arabia kept its own stand in which it criticised Britain’s unfair approach to the conflict by calling it “unhelpful”. However, such attempts required effort, and a photograph of the British prime minister giving a warm welcoming embrace to the Israeli Prime Minister, Mrs Golda Meir, triggered a horrified reaction from Arab countries. In the Foreign Affairs debate of November 1975, Jonathan Aitken admitted this was “a public relations error”. He commended the new chapter in the British relationship with the Middle East which was “symbolised by many ministerial visits in various directions”, especially the visit by the Foreign Secretary to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States that took place in 1975; “the first visit to the Gulf by a British Foreign Secretary since the present Mr. Speaker went to Bahrain in 1960.”³⁰⁴

“The fact that 15 years have elapsed since that occasion is a sad reflection on foreign policy priorities by successive Governments. [...] I think we all now appreciate the momentous significance that these countries have in terms of our future as an exporting and trading nation and as a world financial centre.”³⁰⁵

4.1.2 A Review of Export and Import conditions between Saudi

Arabia and the UK (1969-78)

Table 6 shows the trends of the Saudi-Arabian investment with Britain, the European Common Market and the US during the 1970s. Following the visit of Prince Fahd in 1975, imports from the UK increased significantly. It is also noticeable that during the

³⁰³ Jonathan Aitken, *Foreign Affairs*, HC Deb 10 November 1975, vol. 899 cc933-1064.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

first five years of the 1970s levels of exports from Saudi to the UK rose consistently, particularly in 1971 when they reached more than a billion riyals. This trend increased year on year, until it peaked in 1974 at SR 11,754,241. However, in 1975, exports to Britain decreased by 46.7 per cent and continued to decline further up to 1978.

	1969		1970		1971		1972		1973	
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
Common Market	2,594,142	818,317	6,665,209	747,772	5,926,901	788,481	8,376,905	875,560	11,190,499	1,239,417
UK	775,613	301,177	827,642	230,737	1,509,886	327,697	1,845,744	344,961	2,651,377	466,058
US	252,008	622,341	194,786	568,558	589,507	615,079	1,128,878	916,721	1,625,357	1,497,036
	1974		1975		1976		1977		1978	
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
Common Market	40,771,406	1,784,751	31,225,039	2,591,492	38,738,724	6,509,704	43,681,899	12,309,447	37,922,446	19,302,552
UK	11,754,624	491,599	6,271,198	1,147,112	6,618,285	1,814,559	6,491,054	3,181,688	4,678,208	5,093,081
US	4,417,199	1,735,257	4,031,089	2,538,367	6,377,228	5,738,634	14,575,422	9,621,323	21,771,037	14,433,459

Table 6: The value of imports and export according to main trade countries 1969-1978 (quoted as 000s SR).³⁰⁶

Common Market Countries: France, Holland, Italy, Belgium, and West Germany.

On the other hand, Saudi-Arabian imports from Britain were modest for the first five years of the 1970s until 1975, when import levels increased dramatically by 133.5 per cent between 1974 and 1975. Subsequently, imports increased progressively until they peaked at 51 billion riyals in 1978.

Rising oil prices over the previous few years were probably an important catalyst that contributed to an upsurge in the focus on exports to Saudi Arabia, and also enabled Saudi Arabia to adopt long-term policies and measures to expand its trade and investment with Britain.

³⁰⁶ Figures from Saudi Arabian Central Statistical Department (1969-1978). Adapted from Tables 9-3, 9-4.

As noted in Table 6, 1975 was the year that post-oil crisis prosperity began to be clearly seen in the Kingdom, and this was complemented by a series of measures designed to strengthen institutions that were keen to boost higher education and cultural exchanges with the British Council. Most importantly in this regard were initiatives designed to establish a viable training and education system for Saudi-Arabian students in both Riyadh and London.

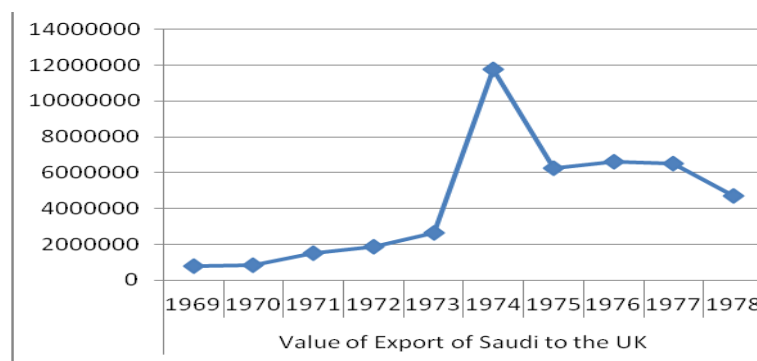


Figure 8: Value of Saudi exports to the UK.

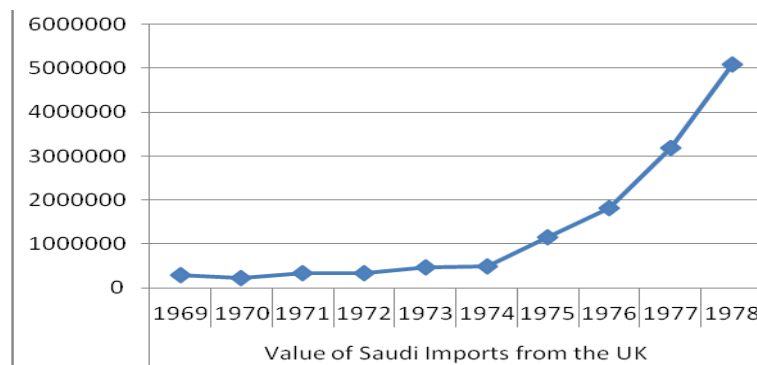


Figure 9: Value of Saudi imports from the UK.

Figures 8 and 9 demonstrate the progress made between Saudi Arabia and the UK in laying the foundation for trade relations. For example, Saudi Arabia's imports were steady at around SR 0.3-0.5 billion from 1969, then increased exponentially from around 1.2 billion SR in 1975 to just over SR 5 billion by 1978. These trade activities were linked to and influenced by the royal visit of Crown Prince Fahd to Britain in 1975. Moreover, rising oil revenues from the early 1970s had stimulated other areas

of the Saudi Arabian economy, with remarkable growth in petrochemicals, construction and the financial sector.

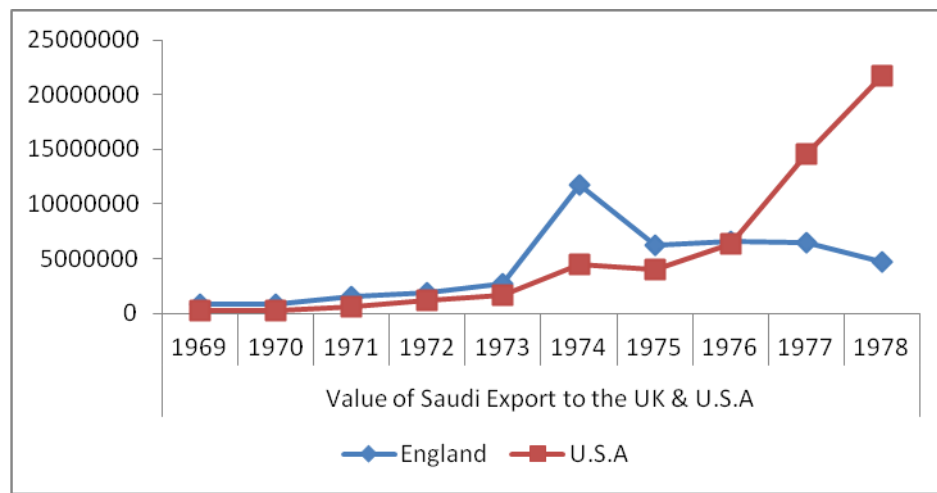


Figure 10: Value of Saudi Arabian exports to the UK & US.

Figure 10 shows the commercial relationship between Saudi Arabia and the UK and US. Looking at the trend from 1969, several points can be noted. Exports to both countries from Saudi Arabia were similar up to 1973. However, from 1974, this relationship completely changed, when exports to the UK more than doubled compared to that of the US. This was due to the fact that Britain suddenly increased the amount of oil it imported from the Kingdom, which was linked in part to the military bid by the British to provide the air-defence needs of the Kingdom.

Though Fahd's visit was to a great extent a recognition of the boom in bilateral relations with the UK up to 1975, interestingly, as the data above shows, following that year the trade balance changed in favour of the US, which continued to increase its imports from Saudi Arabia whilst Britain's continued to decline.

4.1.3 Saudi Arabian Imports from Britain

Table 7 and Figure 11 illustrates the source of imports to Saudi Arabia from five major European countries. It shows that imports from Germany increased steadily between 1972 and 1977, followed by a sharper rise in 1978 and a significant fall the following year. Despite this drop, Germany remained the top exporter to Saudi Arabia from the mid-seventies until the end of the decade, accounting for more than 8 per cent of Saudi imports. Britain was the second highest exporter over the decade with a peak of 8 per cent in 1975, during which it actually topped imports from Germany. However, by the end of the decade Saudi Arabia imported more goods from Italy, at approximately 6.8 per cent, than Britain, which accounted for only 6.2 per cent of imports at that time.

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
UK	7.33%	6.37%	4.84%	7.74%	5.91%	6.16%	7.36%	7.10%	6.48%
France	2.28%	2.14%	0.18%	2.24%	2.68%	3.34%	3.86%	4.57%	5.42%
Germany	6.24%	6.25%	6.03%	6.86%	8.27%	8.36%	10.79%	10.98%	9.08%
Italy	4.05%	2.70%	2.76%	3.90%	4.90%	6.13%	7.15%	7.35%	7.32%
Netherlands	4.21%	3.50%	3.97%	2.90%	3.70%	4.41%	4.35%	3.04%	3.17%

Table 7: The source of Saudi Arabian imports from European Countries (1972-1980).

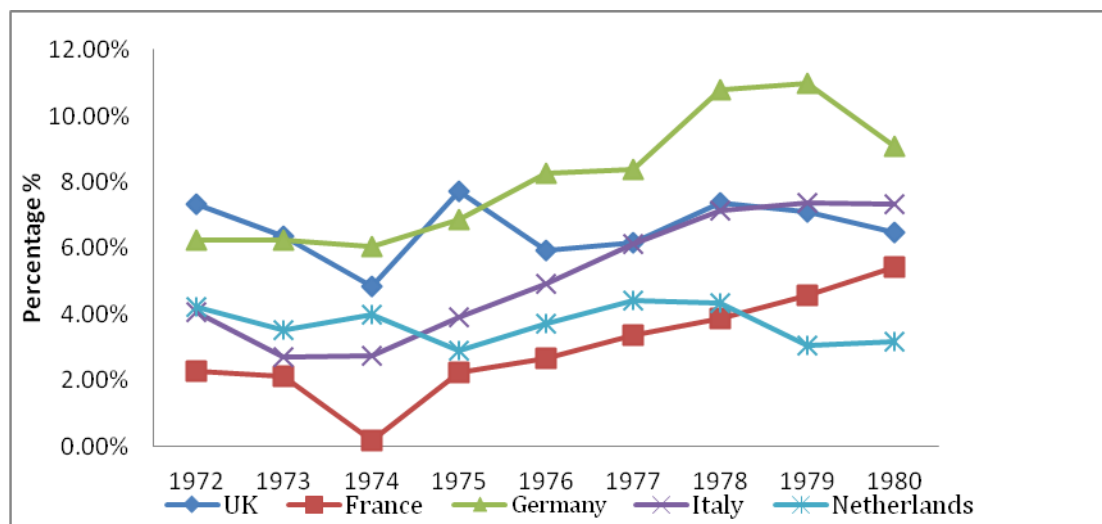


Figure 4: The source of Saudi Arabian imports (%) from European Countries (1972-1980).

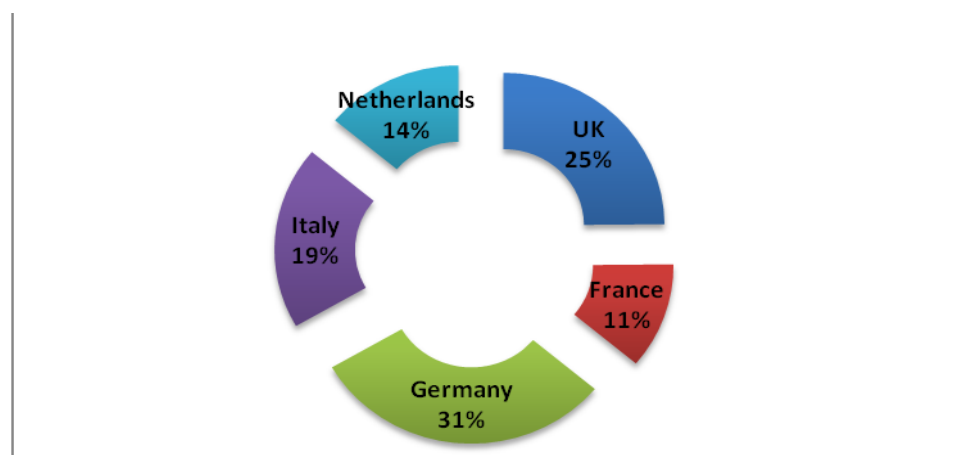


Figure 5: The share of European countries' exports to Saudi Arabia (1972-1980).

Furthermore, when comparing the average over the period from 1972 to 1980, as demonstrated in Figure 13, Germany took the lion's share of exports to Saudi Arabia, at 8 per cent, followed by Britain with 6.6 per cent of total European exports, Italy at 5 per cent, and France and the Netherlands with approximately 3 per cent each.

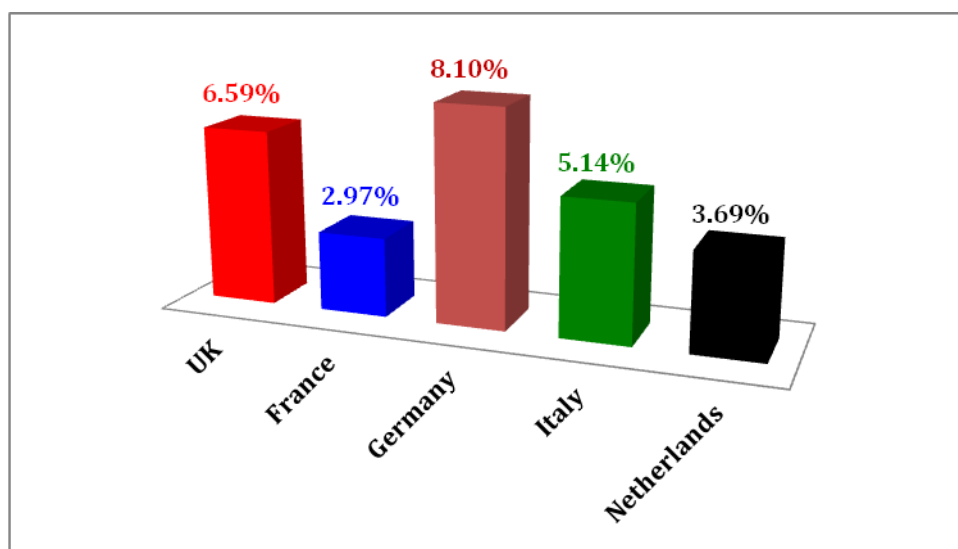


Figure 6: The average percentage of Saudi Arabian imports from some European countries as a total of its import value (1972-1980).

Table 8 and Figure 14 illustrate the proportion of Britain's exports to Saudi Arabia as a percentage of overall European exports for the same period. This ranged from a peak of 24.5 per cent in 1975 to 15 per cent in 1980. Overall, the last five years of the decade saw a gradual decline in imports from Britain.

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
UK/EU (%)	23.99%	22.22%	18.22%	24.57%	16.74%	16.38%	16.26%	15.86%	15.05%

Table 8: The Percentage of Saudi Arabian Imports from the UK in relation to the total of all European countries (1972-1980)-

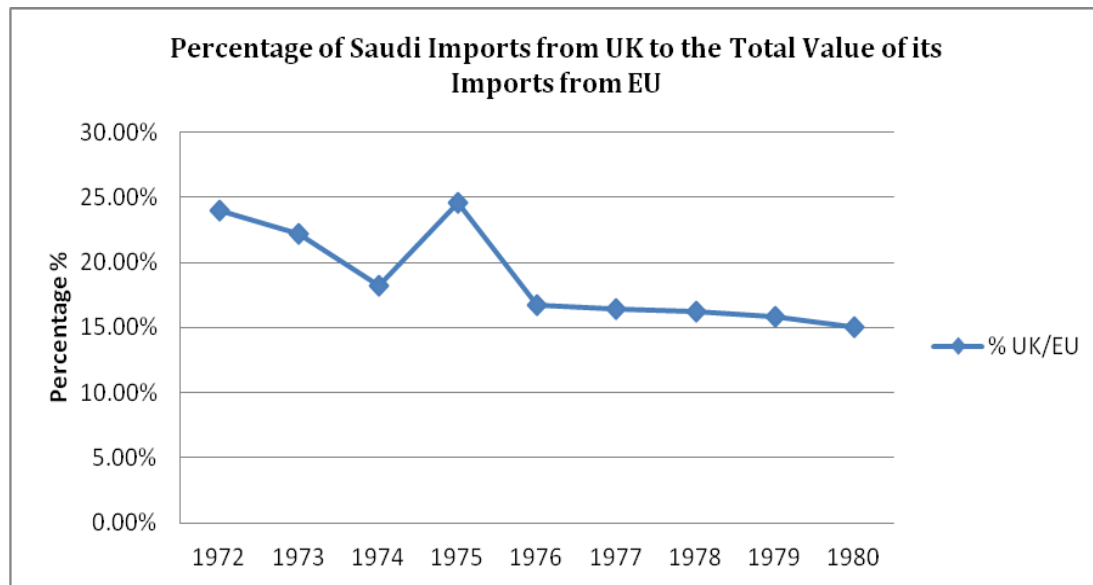


Figure 7: Percentage of Saudi Imports from the UK as a fraction of its Imports from EU

4.1.4 Saudi Arabian Exports to Britain

When looking at Saudi Arabian exports to the same European countries over the same period of time (Table 9 and Figure 15), it is clear that the highest percentage of exports were to France, of between 9 and 11.5 per cent, while Germany accounted for the least amount, between 2.7 per cent and 4.4 per cent over the decade.

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
UK	8.11%	7.96%	9.31%	6.01%	4.90%	4.24%	3.38%	3.33%	3.54%
France	9.27%	9.19%	11.54%	10.81%	11.53%	9.60%	10.69%	8.38%	9.24%
Germany	3.23%	3.31%	4.39%	3.50%	3.14%	2.89%	2.73%	2.82%	3.04%
Italy	11.19%	9.97%	10.34%	7.56%	6.35%	7.30%	6.77%	8.12%	6.15%
Netherlands	11.90%	9.34%	2.58%	5.07%	5.14%	5.30%	4.35%	5.54%	6.82%

Table 9: The Percentage of Total Saudi Arabian Exports to Five European Countries (1972-1980),

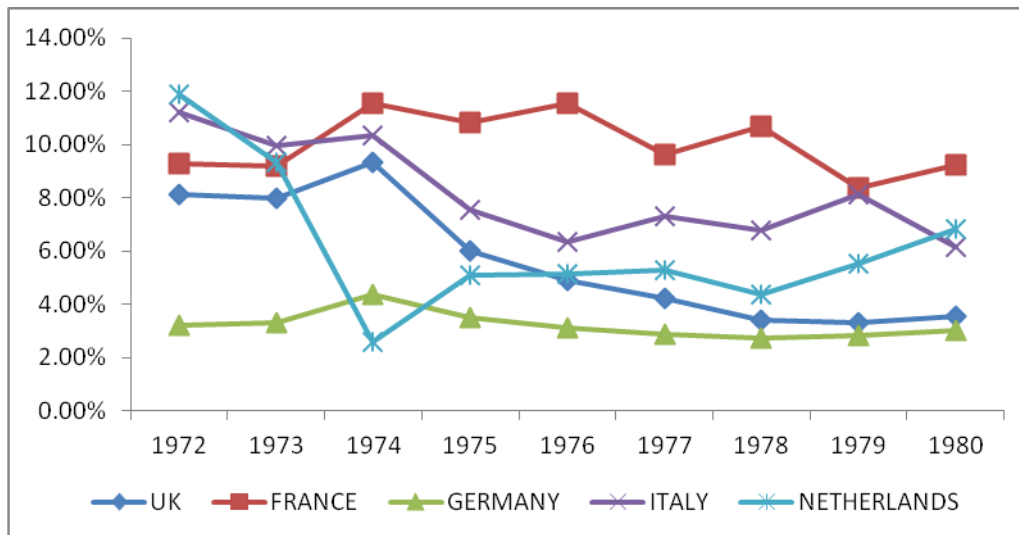


Figure 8: The percentage of Saudi Arabian exports to the UK, France, Germany, Italy and Netherlands (1972-1980).

Between 1972-1980, at 17 per cent Britain was the fourth highest recipient of Saudi Arabian exports in Europe (Figure 16). France was the leading importer of Saudi Arabian goods, at 30 per cent, followed by Italy with 24 per cent and the Netherlands with 19 per cent.

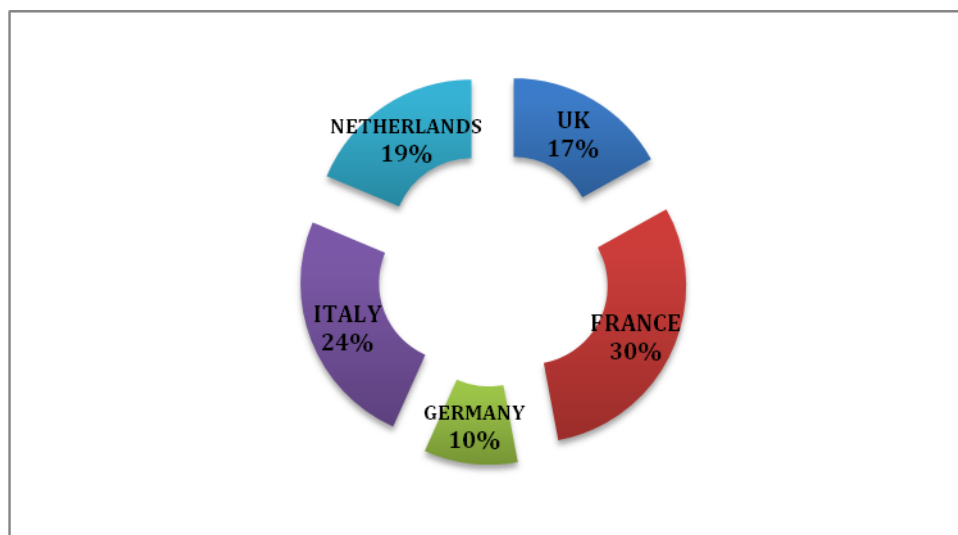


Figure 9; Comparison of Saudi exports to European countries (1972-1980).

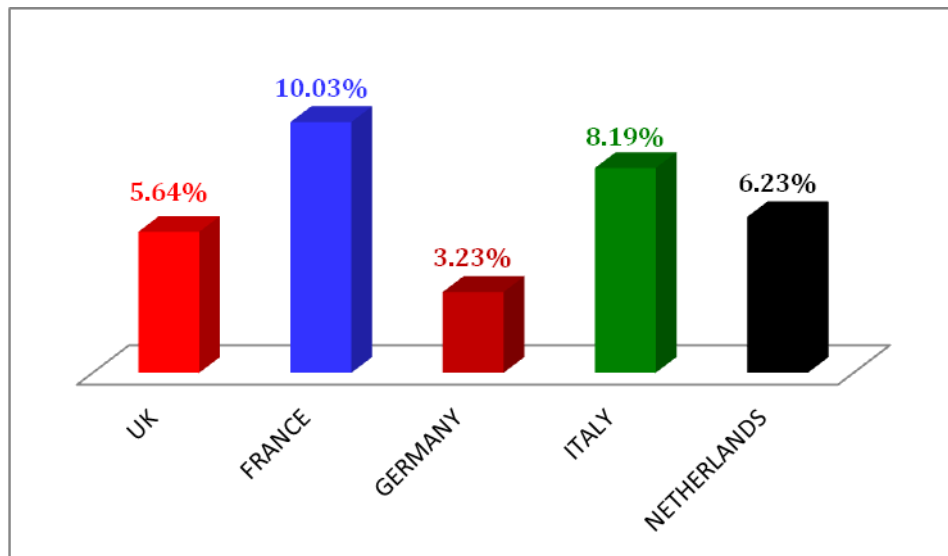


Figure 10; Average percentage of Saudi exports to European countries (1972-1980).

Table 10 and Figure 18 show that UK imports from Saudi Arabia, as a percentage of EU imports, rose between 1972 and 1974 and then suddenly dropped from 18 per cent in 1974 to 8 per cent in 1979.

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
UK/EU (%)	14.67%	15.18%	18.05%	13.81%	11.92%	10.72%	9.08%	8.00%	8.51%

Table 10: The Percentage of Saudi Arabian Exports of the UK from the European Countries 1972-1980

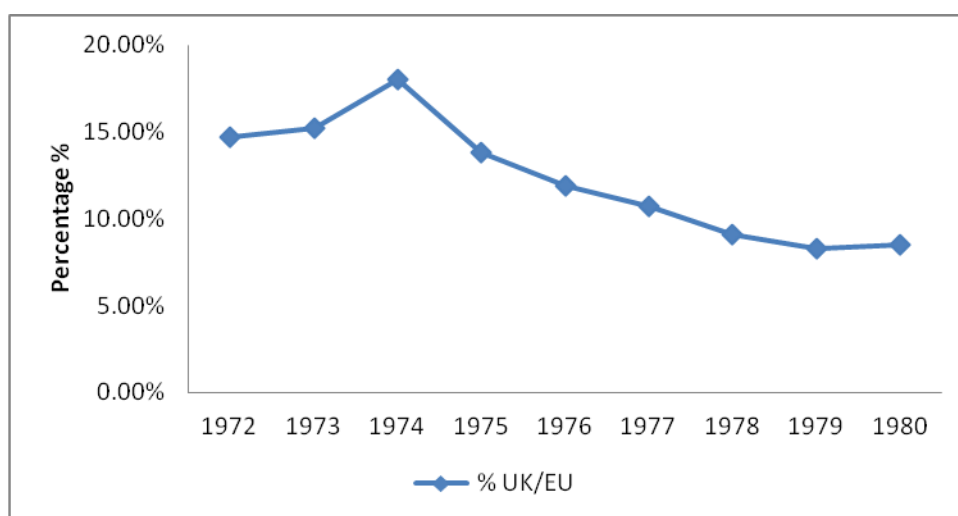


Figure 11: Percentage of Saudi Exports to UK as a value of its exports to the EU (1972-1980).

4.1.5 Comparison of Saudi Arabian Imports and Exports with Britain

Figure 19 illustrates that from 1972 to 1980 Saudi Arabian imports from the UK and the EU were higher than exports. This gap was most significant in 1975, when exports fell to less than 15 per cent while imports peaked at 25 per cent.

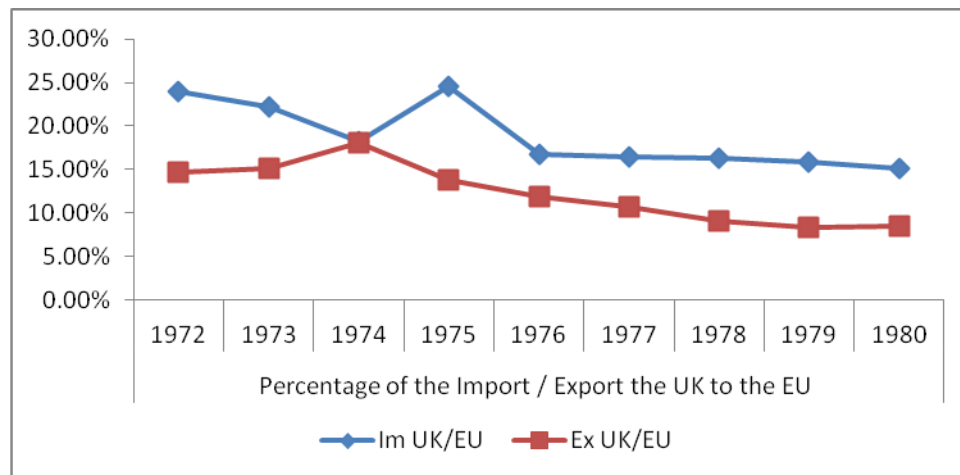


Figure 12: Percentage of Imports/Exports the UK and the EU (1972-1980).

Considering the imports and exports from five EU countries from 1972-1980 (Table 11), Britain accounted for 5.6 per cent of Saudi exports, the second lowest share after Germany with only 3.23 per cent. In contrast, France possessed the largest export market, followed by Italy and the Netherlands.

However, comparing the imports and exports of the five European countries, although Britain was not the biggest European exporter, nor the biggest importer, there was certainly not a major bilateral trade gap between Saudi Arabia and Britain during that period. On the other hand, there was a yawning bilateral trade gap between Saudi Arabia and France and Germany.

	Exports	Imports
UK	5.64%	6.59%
France	10.03%	2.97%
Germany	3.23%	8.10%
Italy	8.19%	5.14%
Netherlands	6.23%	3.69%

Table 11: Average percentage of exports and imports between Saudi Arabia and five European countries (1972-1980).

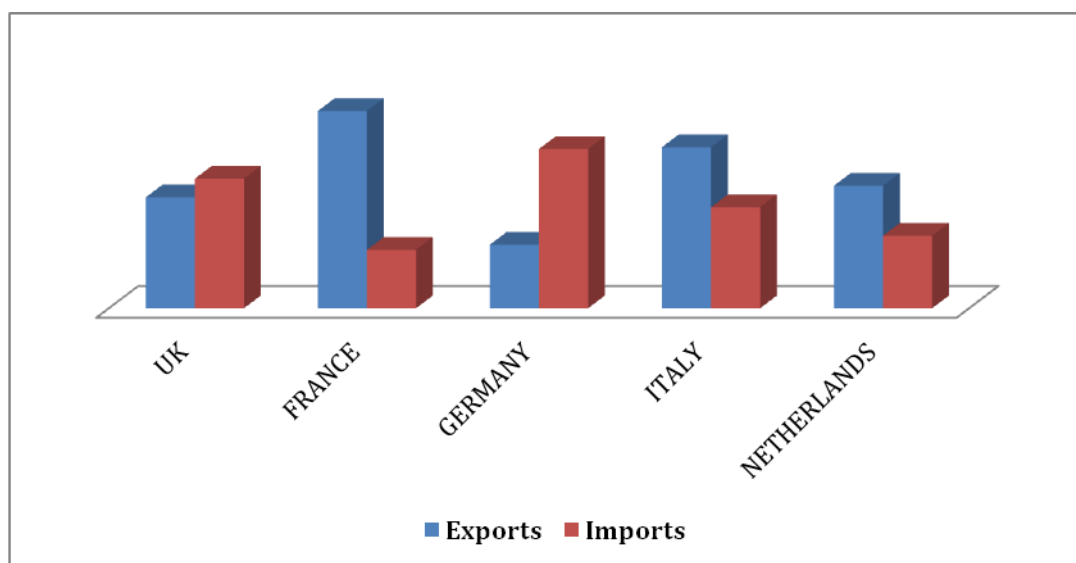


Figure 20: Average percentage of Saudi exports and imports with European countries (1972-1980).

Figure 20 clearly highlights the Franco-German situation. Germany, after enjoying the status as the top supplier to the Kingdom, started to lose its advantage providing opportunities for France to capitalise on this.

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Import UK	7.33%	6.37%	4.84%	7.74%	5.91%	6.16%	7.36%	7.10%	6.48%
Export UK	8.11%	7.96%	9.31%	6.01%	4.90%	4.24%	3.38%	3.33%	3.54%

Table 12: Percentage of Imports / Exports between the UK and Saudi Arabia

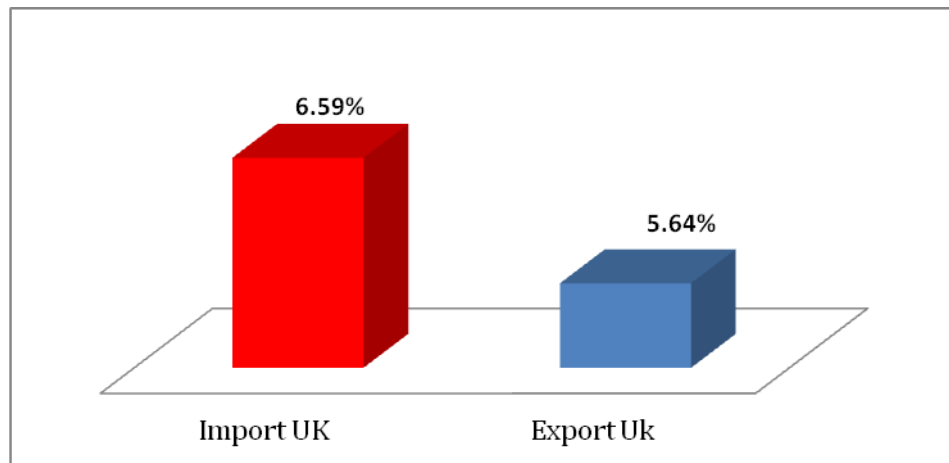


Figure 13: Comparison of the average percentage of Saudi Imports/Exports with the UK as a function of the total value of Saudi Imports/Exports (1972-1980).

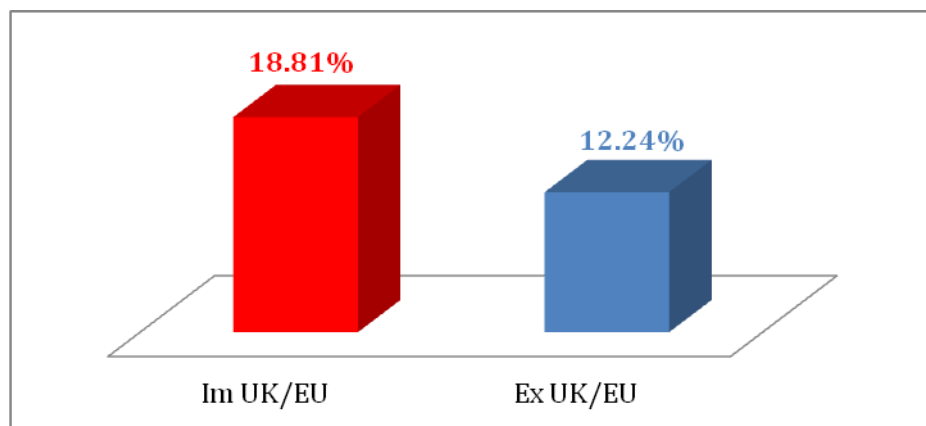


Figure 14: Comparison of the average percentage of Saudi Imports/Exports with the EU (1972-1980).

4.2 How Export and Import conditions between Saudi Arabia and the UK Affected Cultural Relations

The impact of how import and export conditions affect cultural relations are one of the most complex elements to be considered, especially the impact on relations and cultural exchanges, which as we have shown in this chapter are associated strongly with other factors, such as the economic situation, trade agreements and elements as diverse as the oil price and terrorism. However, examination of the growth of economic exchanges between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom during the 1970s and how this has impacted on their cultural relations is one of the key elements in

providing a part of the picture of to what extent this relationship has grown and how it might be improved in the future.

Any assessment should always consider the impact of the growth in economic exchanges in attracting foreign tourism and international investment. Yet the great advantage of increased economic exchange is that it could also lead to the entry of a wide range of cultural products from both countries, including brands, language courses, music, food and so on. These cultural products, which automatically move with an increase in foreign investment due to the higher proportion of foreigners who bring their cultural baggage with them, extend its economic impact far beyond simple profit and into heritage transmission.

Although investment and trade relations between the UK and Saudi Arabia continued to grow, cultural exchange did not develop at the same pace. The researcher believes that the concept of the small village has been reflected in Saudi Arabia since the 1970s, the start of a period of exacerbated Saudi investments with Western countries. Britain was not, of course, the only country who was responsible for that, of the multiplicity and diversity of sources of international trade adopted by King Faisal in the five-year plan, Britain shared the benefits with United States, Europe, Japan and others, which led to a complexity of foreign investment. The plan turned a number of dignitaries toward foreign investment and they began to rely on it, instead of the government jobs or agricultural projects that Saudi society was dependent on, resulting in Saudi Arabia becoming a top notch consumer. Until the start of the 1980s, international economic relations remained fully within the boundaries of

internationalisation reflected in the opening up of national economies to foreign trade and funds.³⁰⁷

The important trend, at least for this research, was the one that began to appear with increasing levels of foreign investment, which had a profound effect on Saudi cultural patterns and features. The result was the emergence of Western costumes and commercial products in Saudi Arabia, whereupon some clerics began to fear of the transmission of Western culture and thought into Saudi Arabia.³⁰⁸

With the increasing pace of Western investment across the Saudi border in all sectors of production, and increased commercial projects in the possession of British companies, the inevitable result was an influx of British citizens and institutions into Saudi Arabia with their appearance – alongside the citizens of other Western countries – in large cities such as Jeddah, Riyadh and the Eastern Province. Thus, the passage of Western thought and culture especially among Saudi youth, who they were often dealing with directly through various projects, resulted in a quantum leap in the thoughts and ideals of the Saudi youth in those big cities. That resulted in a collision of ideas with religious scholars and the rest of the Saudi people, which has been referred to earlier.³⁰⁹

Any search of what was published by some scholars in the second half of the last millennium in this regard reveals that it was focused on the cultural effects of those investments on the Islamic world and alarm bells were sounded, portents that a

³⁰⁷ Salem Yafot, 1998. "Cultural identity and Globalization: Critical Approach", *Journal of Thought and Criticism*. (Morocco), Issue 11.

³⁰⁸ Abdullah Laroui, 1983. *Arabs and Historical Thought*, (Dar Elhaqiqa: Beirut), pp. 206.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

cultural invasion was coming and alarm at a new aggression on the cultural specificity that requires a vigilance and preparedness for defence.³¹⁰

Assuming that it is true that Islamic culture in Saudi Arabia was targeted by Western cultural invasion is an idea that penetrates the national identity. However, the question that arises here is: Was not it required from the 1970s onwards to create and develop international cultural strategies and plans to meet this challenge? What were the cultural strategies and plans to support Saudi culture internally and externally, and were they developed from a perspective that fits in with a strategy for the future of Saudi Arabia of opening up to Western investment? But it seems to have just been a warning at that time and the officials did not have an adequate reaction to it, resulting in further rejection of Western culture in Saudi Arabia and increased cultural isolation in the West.

Some of the prevailing thoughts and reactions of those scholars and their followers was to panic in the face of anything not familiar to them, and rather than trying to discover the unknown culture, they became scared and fled back to the past of their predecessors, leading to the pre-stage of their confrontation with the problems and complexities of the modern world.

Since Saudi Arabia was under the control of religious scholars, there was no cultural policy, and this researcher believes that was because of the fear of a collision between Saudi society and its scholars. Furthermore, the politicians and scholars did not follow the example of the economists, who had planned practically and realistically for prosperity from international trade and economic future of their

³¹⁰ As a model for such writings, see the contribution of Professors Mohammed Abed al-Jabri and Abdelilah Belkeziz at a conference, "The Arabs and Globalisation", which was held in Beirut from 18-20 December 1997. *Shu'un al-Wasat*, No. 71 (April 1998), pp. 77-100. See also a conference on "Globalisation and Issues of Cultural Identity" held in Cairo from 12-16 April 1998, *al-Mustaqbal al-Arabi*, No. 234 (August 1998), pp. 58-69.

country, who had used sober critical analysis which proposed practical responses to developments rather than the hysterical reaction of the scholars.³¹¹

However, internationally Saudi culture remained stagnant. The Kingdom waited all those years “and decades” and escaped from a confrontation with other cultures until the point she received cultures from all over the world without her permission.

At a time when sociologists, cultural anthropologists and scholars were engaged in a discussion of the evolution of cultures and spoke for acculturation, cultural cross-fertilization, the openness of cultures with each other and intercultural dialogue, some scholars were lulled into an argument about cultural invasion, cultural rape, loss of security and cultural penetration from another culture and people, and so on.

Whereas in fact the Arab culture had demonstrated throughout its long history and track record, for the opening of that rare counterpart. See, for example, the works of such Arab philosophers and scientists as the book of Al-Jahiz, *Kitab al-Hayyawan* (The Animal), and Ibn Khaldun, *Al-muqaddimah* (Introduction).³¹² Ibn Khaldun believed that the Arab culture and civilisation, even in her best eras, was not just open to other cultures, but also “infiltrated” by others, though it was a culture of “victors”.³¹³

Also the establishment of *Bayt Al-Hikmah* (the House of Wisdom) by Al-Ma'mun Abbasi holds more significance and meaning in this context. “This became

³¹¹ See for example the Moroccan economic magazine *Signes du Présent*, Rabat. Special edition “Bmpharqat Crisis” (D.t) Fifth Issue, 1989.

³¹² Al-Jahiz is Abu Othman Amr ibn Bahr, who was born in Basra in the year AH 159/776 AD. In fact, the Book of Animal has little to do with the subject of zoology, it is full of information about traditions, proverbs, superstitions, jokes, anecdotes and the like. See I.M.N. Al-Jubouri, 2010. *Islamic Thought: From Mohammed to 11, September 2001*, (Xlibris Publishing, Dartford, Kent); I.M.N. Al-Jubouri, *United State of America*, (Xlibris Publishing, Dartford, Kent).

³¹³ Ibn Khaldun, *Al-muqaddimah* (Introduction), Cairo (D.t), p. 147.

the central meeting place for Christian and Muslim scholars of many different nationalities from within the Islamic empire. It was also a huge universal library and academic centre, specialising in the translation into Arabic of original Greek philosophy and science, as well as Indian and Persian wisdom, knowledge and my stoicism.”³¹⁴

It can be seen from the foregoing that economic exchange with Britain, or the West in general, and its unintentional consequence of dynamic cultural exchange, would not necessarily cause a dissolution of the Arab and Saudi culture, and the events of the 1970s and afterward was a great example of this. Melting of the Arab culture seems only to threaten those who imagine that progress and modernity is assault on identity. However, the Arab culture – as mentioned earlier – has overridden history and its variables time and again, maintaining its own special elements over time and despite many challenges.

Moreover, the vision linking identity to history and considering it as a complete and unchanging template may be true in some way, but it could still accept openness and invest in it for cross-cultural benefit. The fact that the identity was linked to the future as well, complete with ambitions and hopes for the nation in the renovation and construction of a new future that does not deny the achievements of previous eras under the pretext of preserving identity from the vicissitudes of history, but works to absorb it in its favour.

However, the author of this thesis believes that this fact could be true if it is not regulated, or if there is an intentional plan. But even if it were intentional, Saudi cultural diplomats and officials must take the stance of highlighting their cultural identity by innovative and effective means.

³¹⁴ Al-Jubouri, *Islamic Thought*, p. 154.

Taken from another aspect, it could be considered that bilateral cultural exchanges cannot be separated from trade exchanges. Cultural exchanges help to increase mutual understanding and enjoy a similar importance to economic and trade exchanges. Consequently, in line with the increase in economic and trade exchange between Saudi Arabia and Britain in the 1970s and beyond, the need to learn English gradually became a common habit among young Saudis. Even the British Council opened its second branch in Jeddah at the time in response to an economic and cultural need to learn English, and the number of institutes that taught English language significantly increased, as will be discussed in chapters 5 and 7, alongside the number of travellers between the two countries, as will be analysed in the next section.

Hence, economic and trade exchanges between the two countries have provided an opportunity for cultural exchanges and the construction of the first clear cultural bridge between the two nations. Where once the traditional Saudi culture achieved outward success yet only displayed a timid presence in Britain, the adoption of the cultural agreement brought the sort of exchanges that strengthened its position, to the point where it began sending undergraduate Saudis to Britain to learn English and to continue their Higher education. This cross-cultural impact will also be covered in some in detail later.

4.2.1 Travellers between Saudi Arabia and the UK

One indication of the degree to which nations are mixing economically and culturally is to look at the number of individuals travelling to and from different countries. In this section, we will consider how the travel situation changed when Saudi Arabia signed agreements with Western nations. We will look at the numbers of people

travelling to Europe before and after the agreements of 1975, with particular emphasis on travel to the United Kingdom.

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	Total
London	2,456	2,768	4,382	6,232	12,602	20,552	40,672	60,446	76,949	72,700	299,759
Frankfurt	1,012	1,009	667	487	-	-	-	1,550	10,199	14,178	29,102
Rome	-	-	-	3,596	3,548	4,819	7,514	14,184	22,454	31,185	87,300
Paris	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,436	28,824	46,260

Table 13: Passengers travelling by Saudi Arabian aircraft to some European countries (1970-1979).³¹⁵

Considering the number of passengers travelling to Europe, there was a significant increase in the number of visitors travelling to the European cities of London, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris from Saudi Arabia during the 1970s (Table 13 and Figure 23). London was certainly the most popular destination for Saudi travellers over the decade, with 299,759 arriving in the capital city. Although Saudis did not start travelling to Rome on direct flights from Saudi Arabia until 1974, it was the second most popular destination overall.

³¹⁵ Passengers Travelling by Saudi Arabian Aircrafts from Domestic to Foreign Airports 1970–1979 AD. Table 8-28, p. 309. Source: Saudi Arabian Airlines.

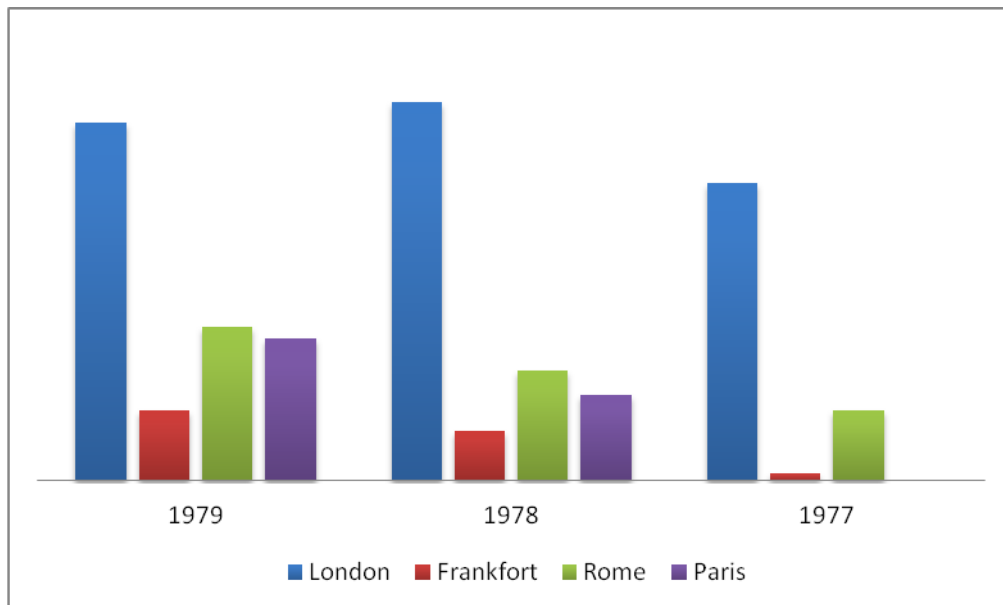


Figure 15: The number of passengers travelling by Saudi aircraft from Saudi Arabia to London, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris (1977-1979).

Considering the total number of passengers over the decade, the United Kingdom was the most popular destination, with 65 per cent of passengers travelling to London, followed by Rome with 19 per cent (Figure 24).

It is noticeable that following King Fahd's visit to the UK in 1975, there was a huge increase in business activity, and therefore the number of travellers also increased from just over 10,000 in 1974 to nearly 80,000 by 1978. Ironically, Saudi Arabian trade and investments with Germany were higher than those with Britain in general, as shown in the previous section, and yet Frankfurt had the lowest percentage of Saudi travellers at that time.

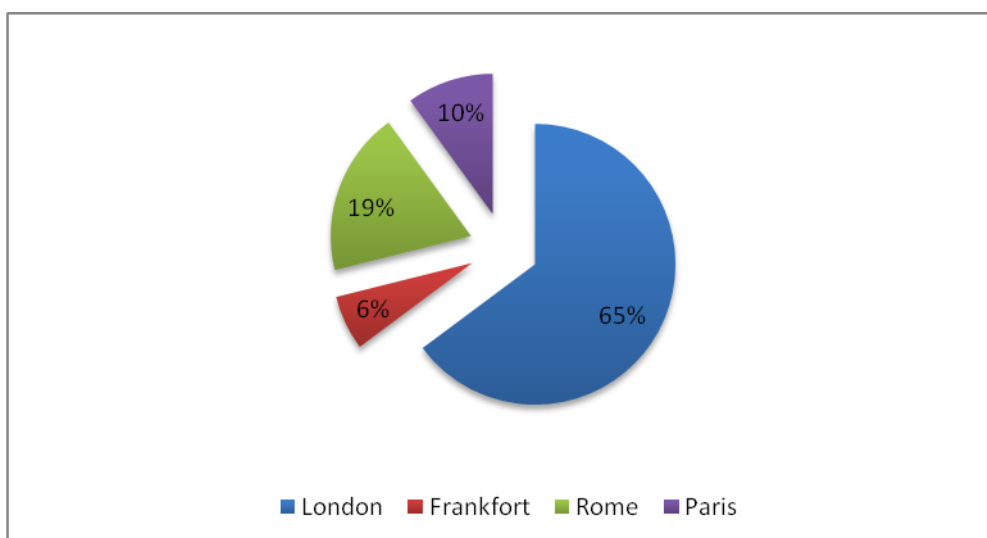


Figure 16: The fraction of passengers travelling by Saudi aircraft from Saudi Arabia to London, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris (1970-1979).

Considering Britain alone, during the 1970s Britain received the highest number of visitors from Saudi Arabia year on year, reaching a peak of around 76,949 in 1978, which was an increase of 27 per cent over the previous year. This influx was primarily due to extensive Saudi Arabian government investments that had been ramping up through the decade.

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Travelling to London	2,456	2,768	4,382	6,232	12,602	20,552	40,672	60,446	76,949	72,700
%	-	12.70	58.31	42.22	102.21	63.09	97.90	48.62	27.30	-5.52

Table 14: Passengers travelling by Saudi Arabian aircraft to London (1970-1979) and the Percentage changes for the following year.

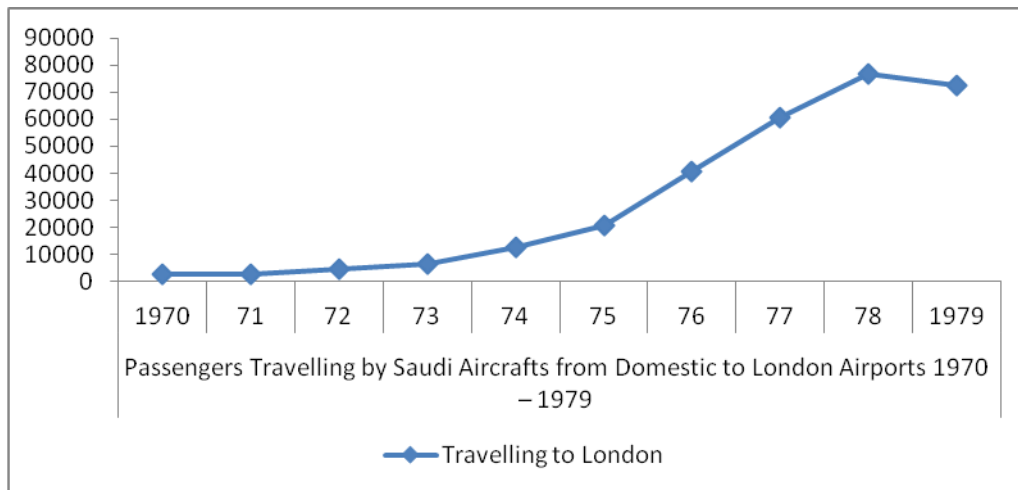


Figure 17: Passengers travelling by Saudi Arabian aircraft to London (1970-1979).

Considering the travel of European citizens to Saudi Arabia, from the late 1970s the number of visitors travelling from the UK to Saudi Arabia showed a dramatic increase over the decade, reaching 85,030 by 1979. Table 15 and Figure 16 show the number of passengers arriving in Saudi Arabia from four European airports on Saudi Arabian carriers between 1970 and 1979. These figures were issued by the Central Department of Statistics & Information and were supplied originally by Saudi Arabian Airlines.³¹⁶

	Dhahran	Riyadh	Jeddah	Total
London	1,332	47,009	36,689	85,030
Frankfurt	-	13,059	3,949	17,008
Rome	-	22,200	12,675	34,875
Paris	-	14,902	15,987	30,889

Table 15: Total number of visitors arriving from the UK, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris during the 1970s.

³¹⁶ Adapted from Passengers Arriving from Foreign Airports on Saudi Arabian Aircraft by Airport 1970–1979. Issued by the Central Department of Statistics & Information, Table 8-30, p. 310. Source: Saudi Arabian Airlines.

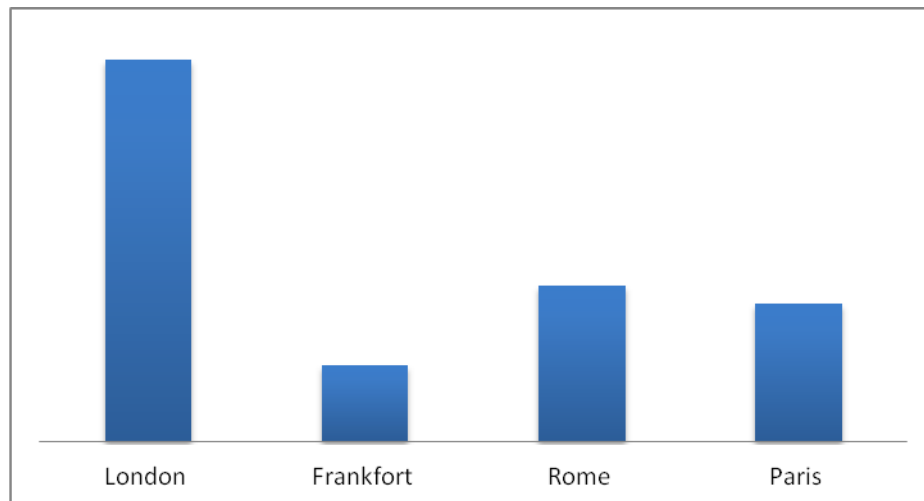


Figure 18: Total number of visitors arriving on Saudi Arabian aircraft from London, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris to Saudi Airports during the 1970s.

It is clear from the total number of passengers arriving in Saudi Arabia from London, that Britain could be considered a major European country for air mobility to Saudi, with passenger levels five times greater than Germany and more than two and a half times that of France, which incidentally also received massive oil imports from Saudi Arabia.

Figure 27 illustrates the fraction of arrivals from major European countries to Saudi Arabia, which also shows Britain had the largest share, at 51 per cent of arrivals to Saudi Arabia, compared with Italy with 21 per cent, France with 18 per cent, and finally Germany, which had the lowest share of arrivals with just 10 per cent.

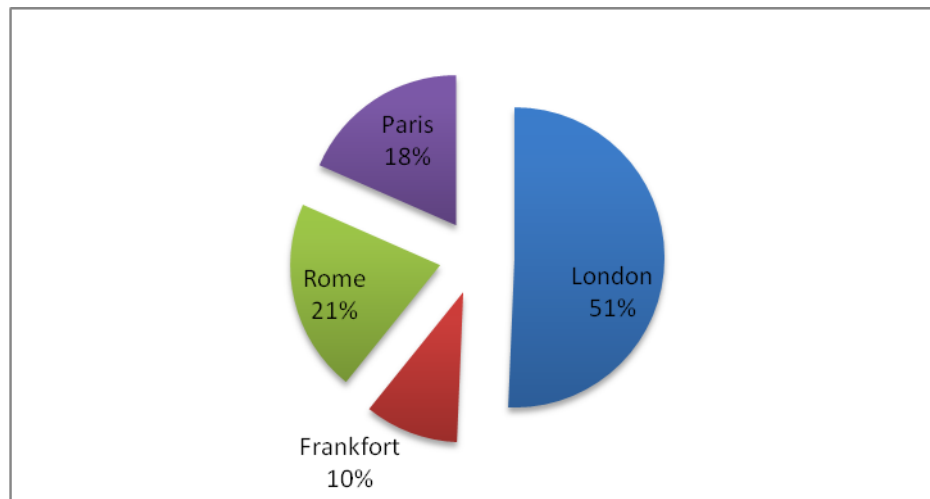


Figure 19: Percentage of total passengers arriving in Saudi Arabia from London, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris by Saudi Arabian aircraft during the 1970s.

The visitors to Saudi Arabia are not only economic visitors or tourists, but as the centre of the Islamic world there are also a large number of pilgrims visiting Saudi Arabia to perform the pilgrimage.

	Males	Females	Total
U.K	1,083	545	1,628
France	340	162	502
Spain	181	19	200
Greece	264	126	390
Yugoslavia	1,900	177	2,077
Total overseas visitors of both gender (in1000s)			919

Table 16: Comparison by gender of the number of pilgrims arriving in Saudi Arabia from Europe and overseas in 1974.³¹⁷

Considering Europe as a whole (Table 16), in 1974 the highest number of pilgrims came from Yugoslavia, a country with a large concentration of Muslims, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, this figure was only 25 per cent higher than the number of pilgrims who arrived from Britain.

³¹⁷ Passports and Nationality Department, 1974. Pilgrims Arriving from Foreign Countries by Sex. Nationality and Mode of Arrival, 1393 AH, Table 4-32.

With respect to and in consideration of the high proportion of Muslims in Britain, one consequence of cultural exchange was the desire of Islamic countries to create the Islamic Cultural Centre in London. The total cost after its completion in 1977 was about 43 million SR, which included a contribution from the Saudi Kingdom of approximately 14.5 million SR, equivalent to 34 per cent of the cost. At the same time, the Kingdom also allocated 5 million SR to buy an endowment with the proceeds to be spent on running the Centre. The Islamic Cultural Centre consists of a mosque, which can accommodate more than 2,000 worshippers, or 7,000 worshippers with the use of the basement and the yard surrounding the mosque, and a huge Islamic library designed to hold 75,000 books. The Centre also includes offices to manage the Centre, galleries and meeting rooms where seminars and conferences are held and delegations of visitors are received.³¹⁸

	Leaving	Entering
U.K	21.684	21.856
France	4.246	3.827
Italy	5.162	4.898
Norway	2.141	2.119
Germany	4.095	3.625
Greece	5.893	5.619
US	29.957	28.018

Table 17: Foreigners entering and leaving the Saudi Kingdom according to nationality (1974).³¹⁹

The year 1974 was considered the peak year for investments between Saudi Arabia and Britain. It also witnessed the highest number of visitors between the two countries. That year the number of departures and arrivals to and from London were

³¹⁸ “Mosques around the world”, *Journal of Islamic University*, vol. 61, February/March 1983.

³¹⁹ Passports and Nationality Department, 1974.

higher than other years during the 1970s and also higher than any other European country.

Moreover, the difference between those leaving and entering that year was just 172 in favour of those entering Saudi Arabia. In comparison, the number of American citizens leaving and entering Saudi Arabia that year was still higher than Britain, despite the long distance between America and Saudi Arabia.

Total Travelling from Saudi Arabia to UK	Total Travelling from UK to Saudi Arabia
299,759	85,030

Table 18: Comparison between passengers Arriving and Travelling between Saudi Arabia and London from 1970-1979

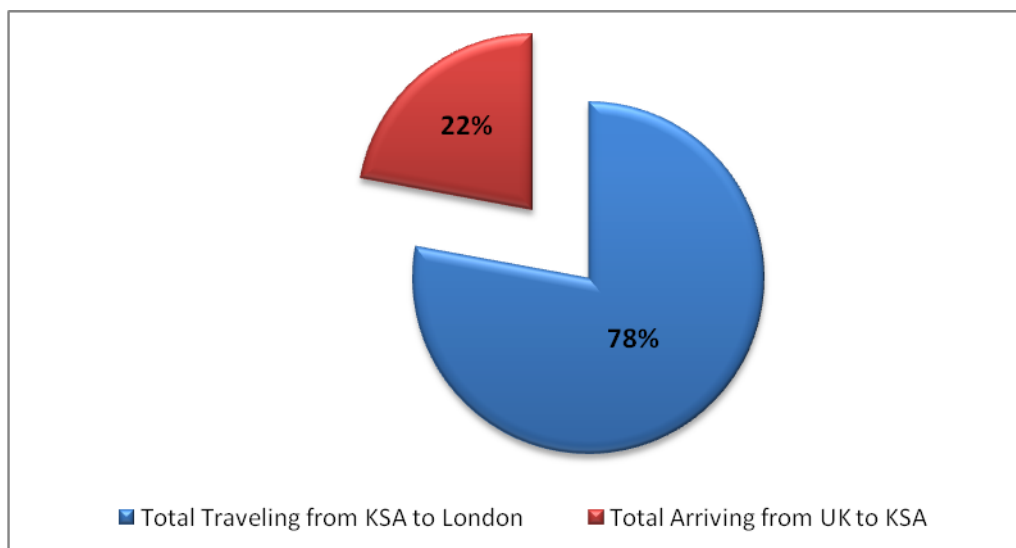


Figure 20: Total number of passengers travelling between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom during the 1970s.

By 1979, the total number of travellers from Saudi Arabia to Britain reached 299,759, while the total number of visitors from the UK to Saudi Arabia was just 85,030. These figures show there was a significant effect on the movement of Saudi Arabians as a result of the trade and investment programmes between the two countries. It also

highlighted that the new Saudi strategy for economic growth was positively effecting bilateral relations.

It seems that the British government made it much easier for Saudi Arabians to visit Britain than their Saudi counterparts. The low number of British visitors to Saudi Arabia did not contribute significantly to the breaking of barriers between the two countries to enhance cultural relations.

4.3 Anglo-Saudi Cultural Relations

In 1975 the first British-Saudi Arabian Cultural Relations Convention was signed. This led to the opening of the British Council office in Jeddah, as noted in chapter 2, a move that was central to the Kingdom's attempt to improve education and human capital development, in order to acquire the required knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to meet new economic, social and cultural challenges. Related to this, the UK agreed to establish and manage key departments – engineering and medicine – at King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah. Regarded as two of the biggest educational projects of the time, they earned the British Council £1 million GBP in fees and related expenses.³²⁰

However, the British Council in Saudi Arabia was a relatively small organisation, and it was incapable of meeting the demand in a rapidly evolving society. Nevertheless, the British Council represented the largest educational scheme at that time for Saudi Arabia, at a cost of about £10 million GBP for school curriculum development in English, Mathematics, Science and audio-visual systems.

³²⁰ John Fairhall, "Britain negotiates for Saudi Arabian teaching contract", (*The Guardian*, 27 May 1975), p. 4.

The scheme involved the recruitment of specialists to devise courses and produce materials as well as to monitor student progress and provide training for staff.³²¹

The scheme illustrates the convergence of cultural relations between the two governments, a dynamic that the British Council played a significant role in achieving.³²² In particular, the Council worked closely with the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Education and schools to advise and consult on teaching the English language,³²³ and essentially Saudi Arabia was in need of the services the Council provided. By the second half of the 1970s, the British Council was running 24 projects in the country.³²⁴

In 1973 a new education policy allowed local students to be granted passports and visas, and to obtain travel tickets and sponsorship from the government, demonstrating their willingness to study abroad. This trend reflected the changes in scholarship opportunities in Europe, where the booming economy of the late 1970s attracted large numbers of students from Saudi Arabia. The British authorities responded to those new policies by speedily issuing student visas to Saudi Arabian students.

As Tremblay noted, “a period of study abroad allows students to absorb the cultural and social customs of their host country, and thus to act as ambassador for both their host country and their own”.³²⁵

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ronald Adam Bart, G.C.B, 1949. “Britain’s Cultural Relations with Other Nations“, Lecture at the Royal United Services Institution, Wednesday 2 March 1949, (Taylor & Francis: London), pp. 369-370.

³²⁴ John Fairhall, “The Semantic Alliance”, (*The Guardian*, 04 Jun 1975), p. 9.

³²⁵ Karine Tremblay, “Links between Academic Mobility and Immigration”, Presented at the *Symposium on International Labour and Academic Mobility: Emerging Trends and Implications for Public Policy*. 22 October 2004.

	UK	Holland	Belgium	Switzerland	Spain	Greece	Germany	Austria	Italy	France
Total	118	2	1	10	1	2	289	63	61	20

Table 19: The number of students studying in various European countries up to the end of 1970/71.³²⁶

	Male	Female	Total
London	468	36	504
France	30	4	34
Italy	40	2	42
Germany	128	1	129
US	5,892	159	5,851

Table 20: The number of students studying abroad by 1978-79.³²⁷

Because Saudi statistics for most of these years only cover the total number of students who studied in Europe as a whole, the researcher was unable to obtain the number of Saudi Arabian scholarship students in Britain for each year of the 1970s. However, it can be observed from Tables 19 and 20 that while the number of Saudi students on scholarships to study in the UK from 1970 to 1971 was very low, at only 118 students, by 1978-79 the situation had changed and Britain had the highest number of Saudi Arabian students in the whole of Europe.

In the early 1970s, the UK fared well compared to the other European countries with the exception of Germany. This was due to the fact that at the time the German government subsidised university fees for students from developing

³²⁶ Adapted from Table 2-41, p. 75, Source: Ministry of Education.

³²⁷ Students studying abroad by country, Ministry of Higher Education Statistic, 1978/1979. Table 2-70.

countries, and also offered a number of free places.³²⁸ On the other hand, by 1978-79 the situation had changed and Britain had the highest number of Saudi Arabian students in the whole of Europe, four times more than Germany.

Outside Europe, and on a global scale, the Saudi government consistently sent more students to America than Britain. This was more a function of the nature of the massive university system in the US, as well as the extent of political and economic relations between Washington and Riyadh, than any superiority of American universities over their British counterparts.

As a result of young Saudis studying abroad, there was a critical need for offices in these countries to engage with those students. Moreover, educated people who were living in Saudi Arabia were increasingly being treated as a resource for educational networks between the Saudi Arabian government and British universities. Mr Abdul Wahab Fattal, who was chosen by King Faisal to be the first Educational Attaché to the Saudi Arabian embassy in London in 1970,³²⁹ had a wide network of British contacts. Fattal not only used to meet students personally at Heathrow Airport, but also provide them with accommodation and help them gain university admission. In this context, the Educational Attaché was seen as an essential resource that contributed to the development of Saudi Arabian students abroad, especially with his cultural knowledge and active social and professional network.

Saudi Arabia in the 1970s did not need Britain to subsidise the Saudi Arabian education system, as this “would clearly be inappropriate” because Saudi Arabia was

³²⁸ Barbara M. Kehm, 1999. *Higher Education in Germany: Developments, Problems, and Perspectives*, (Institute for Higher Education Research: Wittenberg and the UNESCO European Centre for Higher Education: Bucharest).

³²⁹ Informal interview with Mustafa Mursi, 2011, one of the oldest employees at the Saudi Cultural Bureau in London in Legal Affairs Department and now transferred to the Cultural affairs Department.

a PES member (Paid Education Services) of the OPEC countries.³³⁰ Jeremy Barnett, the British Council's representative in Riyadh in 1975, emphasised the influential role the Council played in the British economy through its PES. Barnett asserted the significance of the money spent on education in Saudi Arabia. There was also recognition from the UK that remittances from international students "represent a source of foreign exchange earnings and investment."³³¹

Interestingly, the British Council had more success in building ties with Saudis than any American institutions in the country. During the 1970s, the Saudi government "rejected a proposal from an American university, on the grounds that the institution was interested only in making a profit and the non-profit nature of the British Council was a real attraction".³³²

There is no doubt that Saudi Arabia was interested in Britain and at that time was in need of knowledge of its language, science, expertise and organisation, although the ordinary Saudi was not fully aware of the need to know the culture, literature and arts of Britain.³³³

This meant that although educational and cultural exchanges would have been an excellent way of strengthening connections between Saudi Arabia and the British, during the 1970s there were no such proposals for such an exchange. Instead, the 1975 Convention called for the provision of professors, scientists and lecturers. Moreover, the flow of Saudi Arabian students to the UK was one way, as at the time Saudi Arabian universities were underdeveloped compared to their UK counterparts.³³⁴

³³⁰ Fairhall, "Britain negotiates for Saudi Arabian teaching contract", p. 4.

³³¹ Tremblay, "Links between Academic Mobility and Immigration".

³³² Fairhall, "Britain negotiates for Saudi Arabian teaching contract", p. 4.

³³³ Fairhall, "The Semantic Alliance", p. 9.

³³⁴ Tremblay, "Links between Academic Mobility and Immigration".

Tremblay cited a study by Jinyoung Kim in 1998 that examined empirically the economic impact of technology transfers that send students from their home countries to study abroad. Kim referred to “foreign education as a process of knowledge import” which enhances the economic growth of developing countries when they return to their home countries with “embedded human capital” or a knowledge and practical experience of other cultures. The main findings of this research was that the number of students enrolled abroad in higher technology degrees in developed countries, correlated positively with a “growth rate of per-capita income in the sending country, and the effect is even stronger when considering the students enrolled abroad in technology-related fields”.³³⁵ One consequence of this was that students educated overseas often obtained jobs earning higher salaries than home-educated students.

Another benefit from overseas student programmes is that students can maintain ties with the host country when they return to their country of origin. “Greater co-ordination and co-operation between student countries’ of origin and destination appears as a promising way to share the advantages linked to international student mobility in a fair way.”³³⁶

Available statistical data suggests that former Saudi Arabian graduates that studied abroad have actually made a significant contribution in developing and building Saudi Arabia. The minister of Education, Al sheikh Abdul-Aziz Al Khwiter, was not only the first postgraduate, but also the first Saudi PhD graduate from Britain, after he attended the History department at London University in 1960.³³⁷ During the

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Noor Alamain, 2014. *Adib Al Arabia* (Arabic Literature) Dr. Abdul-Aziz Al Khwiter *Aldaay magazine*. Dr Al Ululoom. Vol. 12 (38). See also, Fahad Al Swidan, “Allah pleased Dr Abdul Aziz Al

1970s most ministers, highly qualified employees and senior professionals obtained degrees from abroad, such as the former Minister of Labour Dr Ghazi Al-Qusaibi who obtained his PhD degree from Britain.³³⁸

The Saudi Arabian government did not need to encourage scholarship students to return home, as was the case in some countries such as China. On the contrary, Saudi Arabia needed to overcome the fears that had prevented her youth from travelling to Western countries, and that was a greater concern for cultural differences. For this reason, young students were encouraged to study abroad with various incentives and benefits upon their return (including the opportunity to have a well-paid job).

Further evidence of the strength of Anglo-Saudi bilateral relations, which later influenced their cultural relations and was also in part a consequence of the implementation of the Saudi-British Cultural Agreement of 1975, was the opening of Saudi press centres in the Western world, initially in London. Set up in 1977, with a staff of nearly 10 employees, the London office of the Saudi Press Agency (SPA) was the first office of its kind outside the Arab world.³³⁹ Subsequently, *Al Majalla* (the Magazine), a well-known political magazine, was first published in February 1980 from its head office in London,³⁴⁰ and *ASharq Al-Awsat* (the Middle East) newspaper is also London based. The first issue of *ASharq Al-Awsat* was published on 4 July 1978, and since that time it has developed into the number one distributed Arabic newspaper.³⁴¹

Khowiter", (*Al Riyadh*, 04 June 2014. 16781) and "Al Khowiter: Father of Ministries and First Saudi graduate with doctorate", (*Alyaum*, 07 March 2013).

³³⁸ Dr Al-Qusaibi was the former Saudi Arabian Ambassador to Britain from 2001-04, and he was one of the first reformers in Saudi Arabia.

³³⁹ Saudi Press Agency (SPA). "General Information" (last updated 11 June 2013)

³⁴⁰ *Al Majalla*, "About Us" (last updated 7 March 2011).

³⁴¹ *Asharq Al-Awsat*, "About Us" (last updated 7 March, 2011).

CONCLUSION

Strong cultural connections open markets, boost trade and investment opportunities and overcome obstacles to the efficient conduct of international business, leading to strengthened economic partnerships. However, throughout the 1970s fostering Saudi interaction outside the country was complicated by the fact that influential Islamic mainstream scholars continued to convey a negative message about the West. Despite these obstacles to his attempts at modernization, King Faisal had ambitious plans, and he managed to persuade influential members of society to help him achieve them, plans that have continued even after his death in 1975.

As discussed throughout this Chapter, although there were many stumbling blocks to widespread cultural exchanges between the two countries, and cultural ties were totally overshadowed by economic co-operation and investment priorities, economic links did open the way to some extent for cultural development. Notably, Saudi Arabia attracted British workers from numerous sectors to work in the country, thus broadening the makeup of society at the same time as working for modernisation. Moreover, the British Council came into its own in the mid-1970s and evolved quickly into a key cultural institution in Saudi Arabia. The British Council played a key role domestically in Saudi Arabia, but also in terms of promoting Saudi plans for scholarships abroad, paid for by the rising trade and investment on a bilateral level.³⁴²

In response, Britain looked to consolidate its growing economic ties in the cultural and educational sectors. The first British school was established in Jeddah in 1973, followed by the British Council in Riyadh, followed by the signing of a contract of cultural partnership between the two countries in 1975.

³⁴² Middle East North Africa, Financial Network (MENAFN), "Saudi Arabian-German meeting focuses on long-term partnership", (Arab News, 12 October 2010).
<http://www.menafn.com/menafn/1093370761/SaudiGerman-meeting-focuses-on-longterm-partnership>

But if Saudi Arabia at that time was in need of teachers and expertise in English language, sciences and organization, it was not really interested in British culture, literature and arts, so it was not surprising that no cultural activities were held by the British Council in those areas.

The Kingdom has been patient in its quest for modernisation, although the belief that promoting Saudi culture abroad both protects the culture and promotes it internationally was lacking. Despite the fears of the conservative elements, the uniqueness of the Saudi culture has been protected, until the events of 9/11 in 2001 undid a lot of the positive work and drew the attention of the international community upon Saudi Arabia, leading to a considerable amount of cultural misunderstanding. Britain, on the other hand, ignored most of the misunderstandings in this regard by virtue of its long-standing and advanced cultural and economic relationship with the Saudi government and the Saudi people, stretching back to the signing of the agreements of the mid-1970s.

The lack of a positive cultural exchange with the UK after the signing of the agreement in 1975, which may be considered a turning point in Anglo-Saudi relationships after the lacklustre relationships and crises of the 1950s and 1960s, was slow to take off, since the Saudi government displayed little interest in promoting Saudi culture outside of the country, or learning about the culture of the UK, instead focusing on importing knowledge, in the form of teachers and scientists.

The author maintains that belief in cultural penetration requires efforts toward unification to be made, to bring together intellectuals, politicians and officials to highlight the Saudi identity internationally, in order to introduce knowledge of the culture themselves, and not to be addressed and lectured by those who do not know it

to the same degree. Such knowledge should be introduced by those who deeply know the Saudi culture, not by those who not belong, or are not related to the culture.

From the 1970s onwards, when international agreements opened up the borders of Saudi Arabia to international investment and economic and educational development, politicians and cultural officials failed to draw a roadmap to promote their culture internationally. Consequently, when the 9/11 attacks happened this sobered up everyone as to the need for such a strategy, and to a need for cultural diplomacy, to overcome the many obstacles and problems that could have been overcome if they recognised the need for such a roadmap in the past.³⁴³

³⁴³ Meir Litvak, ed., 2006. *Middle Eastern Societies and the West: Accommodation or Clash of Civilization?*, (The Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University).

CHAPTER 5

HIGHER EDUCATION LINKS BETWEEN SAUDI ARABIA AND BRITAIN DURING THE 1980S AND 1990S

“It is one of my firmest beliefs that although there are certain basic standards and goals we should expect from every member of the international community, the precise pace and approach must reflect different societies’ cultural, social, economic and historical backgrounds. And Saudi Arabia, in particular, is a complex society, which Westerners do not often fully comprehend.”

Margaret Thatcher³⁴⁴

INTRODUCTION

The current chapter provides an investigative deliberation on cultural activities during the 1990s, concentrating primarily on education and security. These have had a great impact on the development of Saudi society as a whole, and on the growing number of university students in particular, coinciding with an increase in the international political, social and educational activities of the State.

This chapter will begin by showing how a number of security challenges that engulfed the Saudi Kingdom and the Middle East forced both the British and Saudi governments to better equip their security forces in order to counter the rising threats. The Grand Mosque incident in 1979, along with the Iranian revolution in the same year and other occurrences in the region, provide an insight into the complexities of the region’s politics with respect to Anglo-Saudi bilateral relations.

³⁴⁴ Margaret Thatcher, “Speech to Chatham House Conference on Saudi Arabia”, 4 Oct 1993. *Margaret Thatcher Foundation*.

5. Margaret Thatcher and King Fahd Visits: The Impact on Anglo-Saudi Cultural Relations

5.1 Thatcher's Visit to Saudi Arabia during the 1980s

“Prime Minister Thatcher was determined to shake off the trauma and prevailing morbidity of post-Suez declining Britain. She did so in an expertly executed propaganda offensive which, had it failed, could have had the same consequences as Suez. Thatcher's treatment of the media and her understanding of propaganda was in some ways more advanced than Eden's.”³⁴⁵

There were numerous official exchanges between the British and Saudi establishment during the 1980s focusing on arms contracts. Margaret Thatcher, the then British prime minister, was the leading supporter of strengthening the business relationship between the two countries as a means of reviving the British economy.³⁴⁶

On her visits, Thatcher, who was fond of both the Sahara and the Bedouin, complimented Saudi Arabia as a peace-loving nation. Both of her visits to Saudi Arabia certainly strengthened cultural relations, and the other official exchanges, which followed on from these two visits, paved the way for strengthening business and cultural exchanges.

The second visit by Margaret Thatcher to Saudi Arabia, in 1985, can be considered the starting point of strategic engagement and the sharing of intellectual resources, paving the way for the development of closer ties in various sectors, including culture, defence, trade, and investment.

³⁴⁵ Lewis M. Howard, 2010. *Compare and contrast the British government's use of propaganda in the Suez crisis and the Falklands war*, (e-International Relations).

³⁴⁶ Richard Vinen, 2010. *Thatcher's Britain: The Politics and Social Upheaval of the 1980s*, (Pocket Books: London).

It is reasonable to argue that during the Thatcher era, Britain and Saudi Arabia had the strongest relationship since bilateral relations began. When Thatcher made an official visit to Saudi Arabia, she deferred to Islamic custom on appropriate attire for women by wearing a long-sleeved, ankle-length dress throughout the day, and during her talks with King Khalid, she wore a net veil over her face.

The arms sales, in exchange for oil, were intended to bail out the economy, and underpinned the first stage of the arms deal between Britain and Saudi Arabia in 1984. The deal was largely attributed to Thatcher's own lobbying initiative on behalf of the British defence industry.³⁴⁷

During the early 1980s, there was a tense regional atmosphere as a number of events unfolded; the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, the Iran-Iraq war, and the assassination of the Egyptian President, Anwar El Sadat all defined the epoch and contributed to the rush for arms in order for local states, including Saudi Arabia, to achieve security³⁴⁸.

As well as the arms industry there were numerous other British trade sectors represented in Saudi Arabia during the 1980s looking to sell goods and promote British exports to the Kingdom. These included the Federation of Sussex Industries and the Birmingham Chamber of Industry and Commerce as well, for example, the British Health-Care Export Council, the Croydon Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Federation of British Electro-technical and Allied Manufacturers Association, and the London and Glasgow Chambers of Commerce. Interestingly, in

³⁴⁷ Thatcherism is often associated with liberalism; the British government under Thatcher had no problem in having full cultural ties with Saudi Arabia as a liberal advocate herself.

³⁴⁸ R.C. Mottram, 1985. *Briefing for the Prime Minister's meeting with Prince Sultan*, (The Guardian: London).

terms of bilateral economic relations, with few exceptions Saudi Arabia was the sole destination of these trade missions.³⁴⁹

In 1986 the ‘Saudi-British Society’, a new non-governmental organisation (NGO) was set up as a cultural, social, non-commercial, and non-political organisation. Its aim was to promote “closer friendship and understanding between the people of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom” and aimed to bring together British citizens who have an interest in Saudi Arabia, whether commercial, professional, or cultural, with their Saudi counterparts. As well as organising programmes of events and publishing guides and information about Saudi Arabia, the activities include receptions for important visitors, dinners, lectures, and other events such as its Annual Dinner.

The activities of NGOs, which while being private institutions set up by private citizens are often funded by governments, denote an interesting trend globally with regard to cultural relationships between countries, since:

“An interesting trend is that while in public diplomacy the visibility and role of government is decreasing, giving ways to more credible actors, such as NGOs and other non-state actors, nation branding practitioners call for more government involvement to achieve co-ordination and a holistic approach. Global surveys, such as the 2008 Edelman Trustbarometer – an annual study of opinion leaders in eighteen countries from four continents – confirm that NGOs and businesses are more trusted than messages from media and governments, which has an important bearing on the credibility of the message originators.”³⁵⁰

There is a distinct lack of scholarly research on the impact of national and international NGOs on Saudi society, even their influence on Saudi cultural relations

³⁴⁹ Alan Clark, *Saudi Arabia (Trade Missions)* HC Deb 21 March 1988 vol. 130 cc24-5W.

³⁵⁰ Gyorgy Szondi, 2008. *Discussion Paper in Diplomacy. Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences*. (Netherlands Institute of International Relations).

with the world. The Saudi-British Society was one of the first common cultural NGOs dedicated to Saudi-British relations, although they fell clearly under the umbrella of the Saudi embassy in London which could take a formal arrangement, at least from its audience at events.

By looking at its committee³⁵¹ it is surprising, then, that the Society has so many British staff. Nine committee members out of thirteen are Britons, and as the researcher noticed since starting this research in 2014 not many Saudi students who study in Britain actually know about this Society or attend the Society events. It is clear, therefore, that the Society targets certain segments of the Saudi and British public, and it is likely that these are the political and business elites of each country, whereas Saudi students in Britain are apparently not a strategic target, despite the organisation claiming to focus on cultural relations between both countries.

Saudi identity in Britain is increasingly formed through an increase in the number of Saudi students and visitors to the UK interacting with people at all levels, not because of an increase in sharing trade and investment. Yet while cultural diplomacy is known to use all opportunities and tools available to it to improve its performance and to reach its goals, students in Britain are a powerful tool yet are seemingly ignored by the Society.

However, the Society has engaged with some cultural projects, though rather than doing their own cultural projects they have engaged with other Arab, Western, and other international organisations such as:

³⁵¹ Saudi-British Society, (www.saudibritishsociety.org.uk).

The Omani Connecting Cultures organisation³⁵² in 2004 and 2008, an “educational initiative that promotes face to face dialogue with young people from the western and Arab world via short wilderness journeys.” The project was formally endorsed by the director general of UNESCO, and worked closely with the EU office in Riyadh. Media coverage of the event in 2008, where a group of European and Arab women spent five days travelling through the desert in Oman “reached out to 15 million people via the press, and BBC News Online covered the event via an image diary.”³⁵³

Windlesham Connecting Cultures 2007: “An organisation established by Windlesham teacher Mark Evans to promote cultural awareness and understanding between young people, in the UK and Saudi Arabia” sent a group of young people to the Arctic Circle to experience “challenging wilderness journeys.”

Both projects had a great impact on the young people who participated³⁵⁴

“I learnt that the world and its people make excuses to avoid cultural connection by using “language barrier” among others as a means to not even try.”
Mona Mughram – Saudi Arabia.

“I now strongly believe that if the core principles and practices of all faiths could be discussed and taught in school then misunderstandings and friction would be reduced. The importance of basing an opinion on knowledge and correct facts. Cultural misconception is endemic in today’s world. I came to Oman with a vague idea about all of the countries that were participating. However, as I learnt more about the girls, their customs and countries, I have come to realize what little knowledge I had built my opinions on.”

³⁵² Connecting Cultures, established in 2004, is based in the Sultanate of Oman and works in close partnership with the Oman National Commission for Education, Culture and Science. The programme is formally endorsed by UNESCO, and supported by the Sultan Qaboos Cultural Centre, and the MBI Al Jaber Foundation. Connecting Cultures is Oman’s gift to UNESCO and the UNAOC. Accessed on 08 February 2015 <http://www.universityofthedesert.com/>

³⁵³ “Cultural exchange in Omani desert”, BBC News, 18 February 2008.

³⁵⁴ “Society Projects” (Saudi-British Society).

Kate Muir-Jones – UK.

“This journey has made me see the real faces and voices of Middle East people, and I can say right now that they’re quite different of the news about this region that we watch in our western media. Because of that prejudice, I wasn’t sure about the good understanding between all of us in this journey. I see how the lack of communication is one of the fundamental problems of our days, and knowing that, we have tried to communicate as much as possible between us to break down these walls who separated us.

When thinking in more concrete knowledge. I’ve learned more of the Arabic religion and language, both of them so interesting to me. The Arabic people have explained us more about their political system that was kind of unknown to me. And also, it was very interesting to hear them when we speak about us, the western, because it can help us to understand better our own society.”

Santiago Lozano Lopez – Spain.

“I am now aware of and like nature more than before, can make good relationships with British people who often had the wrong information about my country. The best part of this expedition was sitting around the fire exchanging information about our cultures.”

Abdullah Al Shalhoub, King Faisal School, Riyadh.

“I’ve learnt about Saudi Arabian culture and Islam and that my new friends are some of the nicest people you could meet, and when push comes to shove they can do whatever they set their minds to.”

Dickon Cole, Windlesham House School, West Sussex.

“I found the boys from Saudi Arabia fascinating, and admired how they adapted to the many things that they had never done before. The highlight of the trip was the visit to the glacier, and meeting people from a different culture.”

*Tommy Fitzalan Howard, Windlesham House School, West Sussex.*³⁵⁵

Despite the great advantages for cultural diplomacy that exist with involvement in international and regional cultural projects such as these, it is disappointing that the participation in each event was so small and that there have been just four such projects since 2004. It is also disappointing that a Society promoting cultural relations between two such heavyweight, and wealthy countries cannot have their own special cultural projects and be on its soil, Saudi and British. The Society has issued a series of important briefings in challenges facing Saudi Arabia in her relations with Britain and about Saudi culture.³⁵⁶

In addition, it was noticed that the sponsorships of this Society are very little compared with the position of the two countries and their large size compared to the rest of the Gulf states. The Society is supported by just five sponsors, all of them Saudi. They are: Dar Alriyadh, Rawabi Holding, Riyad Bank, Saudi Airlines, and SEDCO Holding.

Similarly, the Saudi-British Relations Information Service (www.saudibrit.com) is a high quality new website which “has articles, interviews, special reports and reference materials relevant to the relationship between Saudi Arabia and Britain.” However, although it contains lots of news and information about Saudi Arabia, its information about Britain is sparse. For example, it covers Saudi history, religion, energy and education but contains very little about Britain. Also in term of the Saudi-UK relations it covers most of aspects of relations; politically, economically, and military etc., but not culturally. However, it does give a an overview of Saudi Arabia as a flourishing and developing country, and researchers and interested parties can search for any topics in articles, resources, books, conferences, events and news by choosing the subject area they looking for about

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

Saudi.³⁵⁷ This institute, and others like it such as the Middle East Association³⁵⁸ and the Gulf Research Centre³⁵⁹ produce high quality cognitive materials about different aspects of Saudi Arabia and about Saudi international relations in several fields. However, it can be easily seen that none of them have much engagement in the cultural field. But cognitive publishing about Saudi could provide a host of cultural relations tools.

So we can see, although NGOs exist to promote Anglo-Saudi relationships, their targets are often not cultural, such as students and visitors to each of the countries, but are economic and political. Hence it is likely that NGOs are failing to fulfil their cultural remit.

5.2 King Fahd's Visit to Britain

In March 1987, King Fahd Bin Abdu Aziz visited the United Kingdom. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said in an interview with the BBC: "Relations between Saudi Arabia and Britain are excellent. We have common interest in peace and stability in the Middle East."

This visit was followed by an arms deals with Thatcher's government.³⁶⁰ King Fahd's visit also looked to bring about a change of attitude on Britain's part towards Saudi Arabia, though improving Saudi Arabia's relationship with West. The visit was

³⁵⁷ "Saudi-British Relations", (www.saudibrit.com).

³⁵⁸ The Middle East Association (MEA) is "the UK's premier organization for promoting trade and good relations with the Middle East, North Africa, Turkey and Iran. The MEA is an independent and non-profit making association founded in 1961 and based in London." <http://the-mea.co.uk/>

³⁵⁹ The Gulf Research Centre (GRC) was "founded in July 2000 by Dr. Abdulaziz Sager, a Saudi businessman. At a time when the need for an independent think tank focused on the critical Gulf region was greater than ever, Dr. Sager established the GRC to fill an important void and to conduct scholarly, high quality research about the GCC area as well as Iran, Iraq and Yemen. Its research focuses on the social sciences. The Gulf Research Centre operates on an independent, not-for-profit basis." <http://www.grc.net/>

³⁶⁰ "Memorandum of Understanding for the provision of equipment and services for the Royal Saudi Air Force", (The Guardian; London, September 1985).

successful in achieving what it set out to do as it was well received at all levels, including the large community of Arabs and Muslims living in Britain.

Following King Fahd's visit and his reception by Thatcher, he was seen as a moderniser and there was a continuing improvement in relations between the UK and Saudi Arabia. Each year, millions of Muslims travel to Saudi Arabia in order to perform the Umrah and Hajj pilgrimages,³⁶¹ and it was significant that the UK became the first predominantly Christian country to organise a Hajj delegation tasked with assisting the 20,000 British pilgrims in 1999. This delegation was made up of members of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Muslim community.

5.3 The Anglo-Saudi Bilateral Relations Paradigm

The world's search for cheap energy sources saw Saudi Arabia rise to the centre stage of international politics, and in terms of Anglo-Saudi relations this created opportunities for bilateral relations between the two countries.³⁶² This new Anglo-Saudi alliance brought with it new opportunities as well as challenges³⁶³ which will be addressed in detail subsequently, in particular the arms deals of the decade, unprecedented on a global scale, propelled Anglo-Saudi relations to a new level.

At the beginning of the exchange programme most of the army personnel, including high-ranking officers, were sent to the British army for training after a rigorous selection. The selection process mandated a good functional skill in English as an important criteria of selection for training, and was seen as central to the development of the skills of Saudi army personnel to the level of their western peers,

³⁶¹ "Country Profiles: Saudi Arabia", *Factbase*.

³⁶² Leatherdale, *Britain and Saudi Arabia 1925-1939*, p. 15.

³⁶³ Robert Fisk, 2006. *The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle East*, (Harper Perennial: London).

as Thatcher explained subsequently.³⁶⁴ The mutual benefits and objective of this rising bilateral relationship, crowned by such arms deals were clear and so was the size. According to the Guardian, it was “the biggest arms contract that Britain has ever signed with anybody for anything?”³⁶⁵

After five years of attempting to buy F-15 fighter-bombers from the US, when the Saudi government signed the contract with the British government in July 1985, estimated at the beginning to be worth £20 billion GBP, led Nonneman to describe this as the largest single defence contract in British history,

“and shifted the entire structure of the Saudi air force from dependence on the United States to dependence on Britain. [...] In January 1993 ‘al-Yamamah II’ was signed, bringing the scheme’s total value to some £35 billion and conferring on it the status of the world’s largest ever oil-for-arms deal. By 2000 it had led to the establishment of seven joint companies, and it is estimated to have supported some 30,000 jobs in Britain.”³⁶⁶

However, it is important to note that Saudi Arabia did not rely solely on Britain, or the US, for its arms. As Nonneman observes, up to 1988 France was Saudi Arabia’s largest arms supplier, and the UK only came first from 1989-94 after signing the second part of the arms deal. Yet the arms contract with the UK was not insignificant, the signing of the arms deals led to the purchase of more than 50 more BAE Tornados, 60 Hawk aircraft, and more than 80 military helicopters.

The importance of these arms deals for the UK and Saudi governments went deeper than just providing weaponry but led to agreements for the supply of oil. As has been mentioned previously, in the modern world oil is essential for keeping

³⁶⁴ Margaret Thatcher responding to a journalist from the BBC about BAE system arm deals with Saudi Government during her time in office.

³⁶⁵ Gideon Burrows, “Out of Arms way”, (*The Guardian*, 08 August 2003).

³⁶⁶ Nonneman, “Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001”.

countries moving and powered with electricity. But there are other conditions that affect supplies of oil. For example:

- ❖ **Oil supplies depend on stable Saudi political and social order:** From the early days of oil discovery in Saudi Arabia, King Abdul Aziz and his successors realised the importance of strategic relations with the west and the transformation of Saudi society from a nomadic to an urban way of life, without upsetting the balance of social and cultural heritage.
- ❖ **Economic security:** Depends on a steady flow or circulation of oil money (petrodollars) via trade and investment. “Designated a ‘High Growth Market’ by UK Trade & Investment, Saudi Arabia is the UK’s largest trading partner in the Middle East. The UK is Saudi Arabia's second largest foreign investor after the US.”³⁶⁷
- ❖ **Political stability:** there exist political paradigms that present a degree of freedom for citizens and remove the oil assets from the political debate.³⁶⁸
- ❖ **Social order:** If there exists political and economic stability, social order, good governance and growth follow on smoothly.

5.4 Other Factors Impacting on Anglo-Saudi Relations

5.4.1 The Grand Mosque incident

The Grand Mosque incident took place during November and December 1979 when extremist insurgents, led by Juhayman al-Otaybi, took over the Grand Mosque in

³⁶⁷ Anthony Shoult, ed., 2003. *Doing Business with Saudi Arabia*, (GMB Publishing: London).

³⁶⁸ Nadav Safran, 1988. *Saudi Arabia: The Ceaseless Quest for Security*, (Cornell University Press: Ithica NY, USA), p. 9.

Makkah during the Hajj pilgrimage and called for the overthrow of the House of Saud. After two weeks, in which Hajj pilgrims were taken hostage, hundreds of militants and security forces were killed and injured, the Islamic world was left in shock.

According to British diplomatic cables at the time, the Makkah incident “raised some doubts about the loyalties of the National Guard. [...] any confirmation of these doubts would be worrying.”³⁶⁹ This raised fears in the British government that the Saudi leadership could not deal effectively with internal threats and led the British to prioritise supporting and helping the leadership in whatever way possible though, of course, in the long term stability depended on developments in Saudi society in general.³⁷⁰

Interestingly in this context, the British Embassy in Jeddah had its own reading of the situation on the ground, and it concluded that the situation would not improve by selling more arms and training packages to Saudi Arabia to bring security. However, other complex variables, including political factors, overrode such views. There were simply too many benefits for both sides from the arms deals. It led to the establishment of various projects and relationships throughout the 1980s that had a positive impact on bilateral cultural ties in all their forms. More students and institutions became engaged in educational and training programmes, which helped to facilitate cultural interaction, despite ongoing opposition and suspicion from the religious establishment, especially in the wake of the Grand Mosque incident.

³⁶⁹ Diplomatic Cables British Embassy, (Jeddah - FCO/8/3755), pp. 46-48.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 45.

5.5 The Revolution in Iran

The Iranian revolution of 1979, which created a series of incidents involving the overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty under Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, brought a new threat to the region's stability.³⁷¹

For the Saudi government the prime issue was the sectarian divide in the eastern provinces, where most of its oil reserves were found. This had an impact on British trade interests in Saudi Arabia. For example, in 1980 the Saudi British Bank in the majority Shia city of Qatif was a target of protests and demonstrations.³⁷²

The Iranian revolution forced the UK to transform its Middle East policy from one of containment to one that empowered regional allies to deal with the emerging hostile threats in the area. In these terms, the Iranian revolution strengthened³⁷³ the Saudi position in putting forward a claim for strategic military hardware, capable of protecting the security of Saudi Arabia and its regional allies, as well as acting as a deterrent to the Iranians.

5.6 Iran-Iraq War

The conflict between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Iraq, lasting from September 1980 to August 1988, was last century's longest conventional war after the Second Sino-Japanese War. The prolonged war caused the death of at least half a million people at a cost of more than \$1 trillion USD.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ Ifraim Karsh, 2002. *The Iran – Iraq War 1980-1988*, (Osprey Publishing: Oxford).

³⁷² Ghassan Salameh and Vivian Steir, 1980. "Political Power and the Saudi State", *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) Reports*, No. 91, [Saudi Arabia on the Brink], pp. 5-22.

³⁷³ Robert Graham, 1978. *Iran: The Illusion of Power*, (St. Martin's Press: New York).

³⁷⁴ Karsh, *The Iran – Iraq War 1980-1988*.

It can be said assuredly, that the Iran-Iraq war had a negative effect on the security of the region, forcing Iran and Saudi Arabia to seek out the West for security. Ironically, these security needs, set up bilateral relations between Britain and Saudi.

5.7 From *Death of a Princess* and British Aerospace (BAE) to Iraq and British Nurses

In 1977, the British media covered the story of a 19-year old royal adulteress who was shot to death with her Saudi paramour on the orders of the girl's grandfather.³⁷⁵ In 1980 a docudrama entitled *Death of a Princess* was aired in Britain. In response, Saudi Arabia expelled its British Ambassador and boycotted UK products as a sign of protest. King Khalid, who was the third ruler of the country, even went to the extent of cancelling his visit to the UK to show his outrage over the issue.

Another example of cultural difference related to the major arms deals of the 1980s. The British media reported extensively on allegations of bribery and corruption in Saudi Arabia relating to the arms contracts. But in the Middle East in general, and Saudi Arabia in particular, this was not viewed as an important story. For example, the story was not even aired on Al Arabiya though it was addressed in other non-Saudi influenced outlets like the London-based Arabic language newspaper, al-Quds al-Arabia.³⁷⁶

Saudi-UK bilateral and cultural relations were seriously affected by such cultural differences. After the 1990-91 Gulf crisis, Saudi Arabia decided to internationalise the kingdom's media presence by launching its Middle East

³⁷⁵ "1977: Princess Misha'al bint Fahd al Saud and her lover." *Executed Today*.

³⁷⁶ Paul Cochrane, 2007. "Saudi Arabia's Media Influence", *Arab Media Society*.

Broadcasting Centre (MBC) in London, which was responsible for keeping Saudi's King informed.

The Arab Radio and Television Network (ART) based in the UK followed in 1993, which was founded by Saudi mogul Saleh Abdullah Kamel; the said Network lined up its own entertainment, music and sport programmes. The Rome-based Orbit Communications Corporation was also a subsidiary of the Saudi Arabian Mawarid Group, which ran a BBC Arabic Television channel for two years until it got pulled off air in 1996³⁷⁷ because BBC Arabic Television broadcast an episode of Panorama which was critical of the Saudi Arabian government. As a result, many of its employees went to its rival television station Al-Jazeera.

In 1996 two British nurses, Lucille McLauchlan and Deborah Parry, were arrested for the murder of an Australian nurse, Yvonne Gilford. It is very important to mention that the media coverage regarding the two nurses was highly negative following conflicting reports.³⁷⁸ Unfounded incidents inside the detention cell spiralled in the media over a very short time and reports became more about the perpetrators and less about the victim. The coverage in the broadsheets was more restrained and conservative than the tabloid newspapers, which campaigned using very damaging and highly emotional views. BBC news covered the story as it broke and made a Panorama programme.³⁷⁹ The coverage by Panorama contained several factual errors that damaged the reputation of the prosecution and the legal system in Saudi Arabia. For example, the two nurses made allegations against the Saudi Police by claiming they were tortured to make them confess.³⁸⁰ According to Observer

³⁷⁷ Cochrane, "Saudi Arabia's Media Influence".

³⁷⁸ "UK Papers Snap up Nurses Stories." (*BBC News*, 22 May 1998).

³⁷⁹ "The Two British Nurses at Home", (*Panorama*, 21 May 1998).

³⁸⁰ Jojo Moyes, "Saudis Try British Nurses for Murder", (*The Independent*, 20 May 1997).

journalist David O'Reilly Canberra, a book about the case concluded that despite their denials they did kill their colleague, Yvonne Gilford, in a Saudi Arabian hospital dormitory in 1996.³⁸¹ Mick O'Donnell an Australian investigative journalist argued that the circumstantial evidence on which they were convicted was convincing despite the fact the two nurses did not receive a fair trial.³⁸²

The negative coverage subsided and became more positive immediately after the Saudi government decided to release the two nurses. The British government was quick to put a positive spin on the situation with Prime Minister Tony Blair's official representative saying that the prime minister believed the decision to free the women was "a generous act by the king Fahd"³⁸³ and the foreign secretary, Robin Cook, calling it a "generous humanitarian act".³⁸⁴

5.8 Saudi Higher Education – links with Britain

The education system in Saudi Arabia is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Higher Education. During the 1990s, universities in the country were free from any sort of tuition fee and the majority of students who applied received scholarships when they completed their bachelor's degree. In the 1990s, there were only six universities and colleges in the main cities of the country. Thus, the Saudi Ministry of Higher Education actively built relationships overseas, especially with British universities, through donations, academic chairs, and Saudis studying at British universities. Primarily, the aim of these overseas higher education scholarships was to

³⁸¹ David O'Reilly Canberra, "Nurses Did Kill: Says Author", (*the Observer*, 03 January 1999).

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ "Praise for Saudi Monarch's 'Generosity'", (*BBC News*, 20 May 1998).

³⁸⁴ Suzanne Moore, "Who Killed Yvonne Gilford? Who Cares-Certainly not the Tabloids", (*The Independent*, 22 May 1998).

study science-based subjects, such as engineering, medicine, and general science.

Donations were in the domain of culture, politics and economics.

5.8.1 Saudis Studying in the United Kingdom

From the mid-1980s onward, the number of Saudi students going abroad to study dropped sharply, with only 5,000 students studying abroad in the academic year 1991-92. These figures contrasted hugely to the 10,000 students on scholarships in 1984.³⁸⁵ Previously, students who went abroad received substantial financial assistance, although during the 1980s the numbers of women in third level education receiving sponsorship remained low.³⁸⁶ Nonetheless, women who went abroad to study were a particular concern for the *ulema* (religious scholars), who believed that the rightful place of women was at home, and in recognition of this in 1982 government scholarships for women to study abroad “were sharply curtailed.” This resulted in almost three times more men studying abroad than women in the 1990s, in contrast to 1984 when more than half were women.³⁸⁷

5.8.2 Saudi Donations to UK Universities

In recent decades Saudi Arabia has been the largest source of donations to British University departments that are devoted to the study of Islam, Arabic literature and Middle Eastern studies. The largest beneficiary has been Oxford University. Although Islamic studies are the most popular target for donors, support does not go solely to

³⁸⁵ “Saudi Arabia; Education” (United States Library of Congress, 04 May 2013).

³⁸⁶ Valentine Pasquesoone, “Higher Education: The Path to Progress for Saudi Women”, (*World Policy Blog*, 18 October 2011).

³⁸⁷ “Saudi Arabia; Education” (United States Library of Congress).

this subject. The Said Business School was founded, with an initial donation, of £23 million GBP by Wafic Said to Oxford University.³⁸⁸

A report by the Centre for Social Cohesion (CSC) indicates that Saudi donations represent the biggest part of foreign governmental and private donations obtained by British universities in funding chairs and centres, including Arabic and Islamic studies.³⁸⁹ In the US by comparison, Saudi donations over the last 15 years come third, after Japan and Switzerland.³⁹⁰ A study carried out by the Saudi Ministry of Higher Education for Saudi donations to US universities indicated that this figure represents approximately ten per cent of the sum of foreign financial scholarships and donations that the American universities obtained.³⁹¹

	Country	Amount (USD)		Country	Amount (USD)
1	Japan	194,690,567	11	Taiwan	29,544,530
2	Switzerland	133,852,383	12	Italy	21,132,078
3	Saudi Arabia	114,143,144	13	UA Emirates	21,036,957
4	Germany	69,291,985	14	China	19,842,170
5	United Kingdom	68,144,814	15	Thailand	16,871,670
6	Hong Kong	58,418,500	16	Sweden	16,379,857
7	Canada	49,405,163	17	Qatar	14,898,671
8	Indonesia	44,282,020	18	South Korea	14,205,573
9	France	41,744,935	19	Mexico	14,035,908
10	Brazil	33,198,409	20	Greece	13,113,489

Table 21: Size of Saudi Support to American Universities among 20 Donating Countries to American universities.

³⁸⁸ Chris Cook, "Saudis Donate most to UK Universities", (*Financial Times*, 27 September 2012); See also "British Universities Receive Saudi Funds", (*Arab News*, 30 September 2012).

³⁸⁹ The Centre for Social Cohesion (CSC) is a non-partisan think-tank that studies issues related to community cohesion in the UK. Committed to the promotion of human rights, it is the first think-tank in the UK to specialise in studying radicalisation and extremism within Britain.

³⁹⁰ "The Saudi Academic Chairs and Programs Abroad: A Descriptive-analytical Study", (*Ministry of Higher Education, General Administration for International Cooperation*, 2010). See also, The source system of records for Foreign Gifts, Data Report by Postsecondary Education Participants System (PEPS).

³⁹¹ Ibid.

Available statistics show that American universities lead in terms of the size of their endowments, in comparison to British universities. The following table shows the great discrepancy between American and British universities in this regard,³⁹² with American universities receiving over \$1,130,000,000 USD between 1982 and 2007.³⁹³

	University (US)	Endowment (mUSD)	University (UK)	Endowment (mUSD)
1	Harvard	36,556	Cambridge	3,129
2	Yale	22,870	Oxford	3,129
3	Stanford	17,200	Edinburgh	251
4	Princeton	12,349	Glasgow	188
5	Univ. Texas	12,111	King's	157
6	MIT	10,069	Liverpool	146
7	Michigan	7,572	Manchester	141
8	Northwestern	7,244	UC London	127102
9	Columbia	7,147	Birmingham	102
10	Texas A&M	6,659	Surrey	93

Table 22: Largest Ten American and British Universities in terms of endowment, 2002 and 2008.

Most of the research chairs supported by the Saudi Arabian government have been established since the 1990s.³⁹⁴ The first Saudi government academic chair in Britain was the King Fahd Chair.³⁹⁵ King Fahd's donation to establish his chair for Islamic Studies at the University of London in 2001 was followed by a donation to London by Saudi businessman Mohamed Ben Aissa Al-Jaber of £1.25 million GBP to create the London Middle East Institute.³⁹⁶

³⁹² Ibid. See also "University Endowments – A UK/US Comparison", (The Sutton Trust: London, May 2003). and "UK Sees Endowments Rise", (*Times Higher Education*, 20 May 2005).

³⁹³ "The Saudi Academic Chairs and Programs Abroad", (*Ministry of Higher Education*).

³⁹⁴ Most of the cases of Saudi government support for academic chairs in foreign universities occurred in the 1990s, eight chairs in the 1990s and six chairs in 2000s. "The Saudi Academic Chairs and Programs Abroad", (*Ministry of Higher Education*).

³⁹⁵ "University Endowments", (The Sutton Trust).

³⁹⁶ Cook, "Saudis Donate most to UK Universities", (*Financial Times*). See also, "British Universities Receive Saudi Funds", (*Arab News*).

According to the *Telegraph* newspaper, eight British universities accepted more than £233.5 million GBP from Saudi and Muslim sources between 1995 and 2008, with much of the money going to Islamic study centres.³⁹⁷

5.8.3 King Fahd Chair for Islamic Studies

The School of the Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) is one of the few institutes of its kind in the world. The King Fahd Chair for Islamic Studies was established in 1995 through a £1 million GBP donation from King Fahd to the School. The donation was announced in a ceremony held at the Saudi Embassy on 17 May 1995, and attended by the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to the United Kingdom, Dr Ghazi Al-Qusaibi and the director of the SOAS, Dr Michael McWilliams.³⁹⁸

5.8.4 Feedback on the Kingdom's Donation for the King Fahd Chair

On 20 June 1995, *the Guardian* reported that thirty academics and faculty members affiliated to SOAS signed a petition to protest against the University's acceptance of such a donation from King Fahd. The newspaper stated that one of the signatories said that they were protesting against the University's acceptance of the donation without consulting with them, and that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia had a specific agenda concerning Islam, which would have repercussions on the University's acceptance of the donation.³⁹⁹

SOAS refused to comment on the petition. The Saudi Embassy told the newspaper that the donation was not made at the Kingdom's initiative, but came as a

³⁹⁷ Ben Leach, "'Extremism' Fear Over Islam Studies Donations", (*The Telegraph*, 13 Apr 2008).

³⁹⁸ "The Saudi Academic Chairs and Programs Abroad" (*Ministry of Higher Education*).

³⁹⁹ In May 2008 the Centre for Social Cohesion proposed to release 'A Guide to British Muslim Organisations', a handbook which intended to give the background, stated aims and current political attitudes of approximately 25 Muslim-run groups in the UK.

request from the University, that it was not a conditional one, and that the protest petition was an internal matter for the School. For their part, senior SOAS officials expressed understanding of faculty members' anxiety about the School's acceptance of foreign donations and their possible repercussions on academic freedom, and emphasised that a work team to formulate principles of dealing with donations had been formed.⁴⁰⁰

In 1997, commenting on the Saudi donation, Professor Akbar Ahmed, a Cambridge academic, commented to the *Financial Times* that it must impact negatively on research activity if donations are from one family.⁴⁰¹

In 2009, a report was published by the Centre for Social Cohesion titled, *A Degree of Influence: The Funding of Strategically Important Subjects in UK Universities*.⁴⁰² It addressed foreign donations (both governmental and private) that British universities had obtained to fund chairs and centres, including in the areas of Arabic and Islamic studies.

Amongst the report's most serious allegations were that the universities of Cambridge and Edinburgh changed their administrative regulations and procedures in nominating professors as a result of accepting donations from Prince Al-Waleed bin Talal. The report also claims that SOAS withdrew, under instruction from the Saudi government, the "al-sirat" (path) tableau of the Saudi artist, Abdunnaser Gharem, under the pretext that it was an offence to Islam and Muslims. It is worth noting that Abdunnaser Gharem had previously participated with the tableau in local exhibitions

⁴⁰⁰ Kathy Evans, "Troublesome gifts", (*the Guardian*, 20 Jun 1995), p. 1.

⁴⁰¹ Robin Simcox, 2009. *A Degree of Influence. The Funding of Strategically Important Subjects in UK Universities*, (The Centre for Social Cohesion: London).

⁴⁰² Ibid.

in Saudi Arabia.⁴⁰³ David Shariatmadari, a *Guardian* journalist, wrote an article criticizing the report, and denounced the allegations it included.⁴⁰⁴

A team from the Saudi Arabia Higher Education Ministry paid a visit to SOAS, and met with the King Fahd Chair for Islamic Studies, Dr Mohamed Abdulhalim. The discussions addressed the importance of having a thriving oriental studies sector in British universities, in part to correct many of the historical errors in understanding Islamic and Arab cultures.⁴⁰⁵

In these terms, as part of his responsibilities as the director of the Centre for Islamic Studies, Dr Abdulhalim worked to organise a series of academic symposia and conferences on Islamic Law, the Hadith (Prophet's sayings), and Qur'anic studies. In March 1998, the Centre organised a symposium in London on "Hadith: Text and History," in which more than two hundred scholars and specialists in Hadith participated.⁴⁰⁶

The symposium addressed documentation styles and methods in the study of Hadith and its role in contemporary jurisprudence. The Centre also worked on establishing a series of periodic biannual symposia on Qur'anic studies. These began in 1999 entitled, "Conference on the Qur'an," and were held again in 2005, 2007 and 2009, the most recent under the title "The Qur'an: Text, History & Culture."⁴⁰⁷

The first holder of the Chair, Dr Abdulhalim was also the editor of the *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, a biannual refereed academic journal published in Arabic and English that looked to emphasise the importance of the Qur'an in Islamic studies, and

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ David Shariatmadari, "A study in scare-mongering", (*the Guardian*, 02 April 2009).

⁴⁰⁵ "The Saudi Academic Chairs and Programs Abroad", (*Ministry of Higher Education*).

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

to consolidate the position of Qur'anic studies as an academic field. The first issue of the journal was published in October 1999.⁴⁰⁸

As described by UNESCO, Endowed chairs work towards the promotion and protection of world peace and security through closer international co-operation in the areas of jurisdiction of these chairs. At the same time, such chairs lead to significantly strengthen the links between universities world-wide and the government and private sector.⁴⁰⁹

Saudi claims that their university chairs are initiatives to support excellence in scientific research and enhance opportunities for creativity and innovation and development of knowledge. The aims are to attract outstanding scientists to local and international work by researching and leading research projects, training and raising the efficiency of academic staff in the areas of qualitative research, and dealing with sophisticated scientific techniques and providing stimulating environments and structures of excellence, creativity and innovation.

The reason for the establishment of the Arab and Islamic chairs is the need for dissemination of correct Islamic concepts in the West, and to highlight the Muslim interest in education; to change the prevailing stereotypes about Islam and Muslims in the West, and to support various scientific and cultural research; to serve the community, and to advance the development and sophistication of distinctive capabilities in the global scientific community service culture.

Therefore, the Saudi Government chairs in the West have gradually emerged as a strategy towards reform and improve the stereotype of Islam and the kingdom.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Alan Hughes, 2006. " University –Industry Linkages and UK Science and Innovation Policy " Working Paper No. 326. University of Cambridge Centre for Business Research.

It is difficult to be certain that these chairs have resulted in the role assigned to them. References available have been unable to determine with precision this concept. However, there is no denying that these Saudi chairs have succeeded in correcting the image to a certain extent, and have done a great job in the Islamic research provision in western universities. It can easily be seen that the Saudi chairs revival has emerged and spread in various well-known Western universities, targeting Arab and Islamic Studies, and has had a significant impact in the revitalization of research in these areas, and that could have corrected a part of the stereotype that has lodged in the Western conscience, especially since post-colonial Orientalism did not focus - as it was earlier - solely on studying Arabic and Islamic communities social, cultural, demographic and other, but has targeted the 'Western agenda'.⁴¹⁰

5.9 Statistics of Saudis Studying in Britain

The beginning of the 1980s witnessed a steady increase in the number of students on scholarships to the United Kingdom, while over the same period there was a decline in the number of students on scholarships in different regions of the world. the number of students in the United Kingdom reached a peak in 1984 (Table 23, Figure 29) with 1,207 students, approximately 12 per cent of the total number of students studying abroad at that time.

However, the number of students on scholarships in different regions of the world also continued to decline through the 1980s, to reach 2,127 in 1989, a reduction of 62.7 per cent compared with the previous year. By 1989 students on scholarships in

⁴¹⁰ Abdul Rahman Abul Magd, .2010. "Arab Chairs from Recovery to Deflation", Alukah, Saudi Arabia.

the United Kingdom made up 27.6 per cent of total number of students abroad, in spite of a slight decrease of 0.3 per cent compared with the previous year.

Year	Students Studying In the UK		Total Students Studying Abroad		UK student weight out of the total studying abroad
	Number	%	Number	%	
1980	550		10,035		5.5
1981	530	-0.04	11,921	0.19	4.4
1982	725	0.37	12,521	0.05	5.8
1983	967	0.33	11,097	-0.11	8.7
1984	1,207	0.25	10,092	-0.09	12.0
1985	NA	-1.00	9,559	-0.05	0.0
1986	1,117	NA	8,362	-0.13	13.4
1987	957	-0.14	7,165	-0.14	13.4
1988	608	-0.36	5,698	-0.20	10.7
1989	588	-0.03	2,127	-0.63	27.6
1990	575	-0.02	4,007	0.88	14.3
1991	477	-0.17	3,554	-0.11	13.4
1992	586	0.23	3,589	0.01	16.3
1993	632	0.08	3,601	0.00	17.6
1994	630	0.00	3,733	0.04	16.9
1995	535	-0.15	6,583	0.76	8.1
1996	539	0.01	3,410	-0.48	15.8
1997	637	0.18	4,463	0.31	14.3
1998	625	-0.02	4,763	0.07	13.1
1999	765	0.22	5,900	0.24	13.0
2000	NA	-1.00	NA	-1.00	NA
2001	1,170	NA	11,671	NA	10.0
2002	1,281	0.09	6,745	-0.42	19.0
2003	372	-0.71	1,508	-0.78	24.7
2004	1,580	3.25	6,913	3.58	22.9
2005	1,200	-0.24	15,728	1.28	7.6
2006	2,675	1.23	25,433	0.62	10.5

Table 22: Saudi Students Studying at British Universities and Abroad (1980-2006).

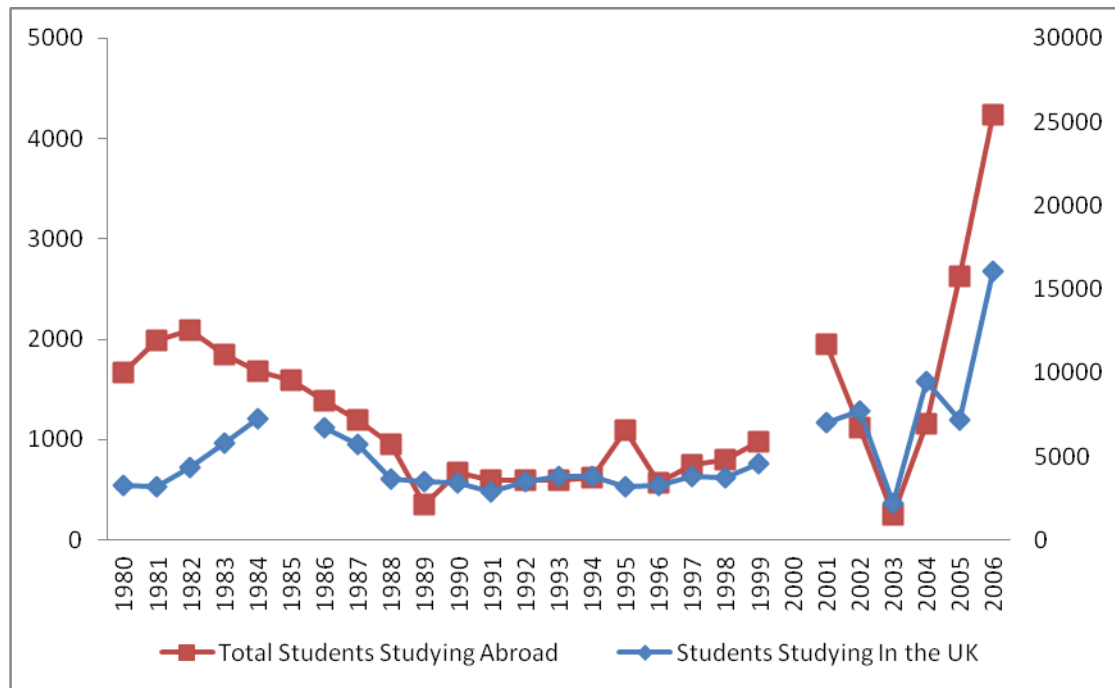


Figure 21: Saudi Students Studying at British Universities and Abroad (1980-2006).

At the beginning of the 1990s there was a significant rise in the number of students on scholarships abroad, an increase of approximately 88 per cent in 1990 compared to the previous year, while the first half of the 1990s saw a steady yet insignificant increase in the number of students as a percentage change. Despite this, the UK based students consistently made up almost 15 per cent of all students studying abroad. It is worth highlighting that in 1995 Saudi Arabia increased the number of student around the world to 6,583, almost 76 per cent more than the previous year.

After a steady increase in the number of students studying abroad from 1995-2000, there was a dramatic fall from 2001-03, to levels far below those even of the 1980s, before a sudden and dramatic rise both world-wide and of students studying in the UK. One might speculate that during the 1980s and 1990s the Saudi government was keen to allow students to gain knowledge from Western universities, but not overly keen to promote study abroad widely. However, in the aftermath of the 11

الطلبة الذين يواصلون دراساتهم في الخارج حسب بلدان الدراسة والمستوى الدراسي عام ١٤٠٠/٩٩ هـ

Number of Students Studying Abroad by Country and Educational Level, 1399/1400 A.H

Table 2-90

Educational Level Country	المجموع العام			اخرى			زمالة			دكتوراه			ماجستير			دبلوم عالى			بكالوريوس			دون الجامعى		
	Grand Total			Others			Fellowship			Ph.D.			Master Diploma			Higher Diploma			B.Sc. & B.A.			Below Univ. Level		
	جملة	اناث	ذكور	جملة	اناث	ذكور	جملة	اناث	ذكور	جملة	اناث	ذكور	جملة	اناث	ذكور	جملة	اناث	ذكور	جملة	اناث	ذكور	جملة	اناث	ذكور
T.	F.	M.	T.	F.	M.	T.	F.	M.	T.	F.	M.	T.	F.	M.	T.	F.	M.	T.	F.	M.	T.	F.	M.	
Egypt	1490	330	—	—	—	—	—	—	33	14	19	73	25	48	2	2	—	1126	256	870	256	33	223	
Lebanon	146	49	97	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	5	2	3	—	—	—	50	18	32	90	29	61	
Iraq	77	40	37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	77	40	37	—	—	—	
Jordan	44	21	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	22	13	9	20	6	14	
Kuwait	88	50	38	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	49	36	13	38	14	24	
Syria	122	59	63	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	—	2	110	54	56	9	4	5	
Sudan	5	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1	4	—	—	—	
Morocco	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	
Tunisia	4	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	1	1	—	1	
Libya	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	
U.A.E.	5	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	2	3	—	—	—	
Qatar	6	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	5	1	—	—	—	
Total Arab Countries	1990	561	1429	—	—	—	—	—	34	14	20	81	30	51	5	2	3	1456	429	1027	414	86	328	
Pakistan	253	68	185	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	250	67	183	1	1	—	
Turkey	4	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	2	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	
Nigeria	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	
Chad	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	
Senegal	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	
Total Islamic Countries....	261	72	189	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	3	2	1	—	—	—	255	69	186	1	1	—	
France	41	6	35	—	—	—	—	—	15	3	12	4	1	3	—	—	—	22	2	20	—	—	—	
U.K.	550	53	497	40	3	37	15	—	15	144	11	133	55	6	49	2	—	263	29	234	31	4	27	
Germany	97	1	96	1	—	1	2	—	2	60	—	60	1	—	1	—	—	32	1	31	1	—	1	
Switzerland	15	7	8	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	4	6	3	3	—	
Italy	48	3	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	48	3	45	—	—	—	
Greece	7	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	7	—	—	—	
Austria	102	9	93	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	102	9	93	—	—	—	
Total European Countries	860	79	781	41	3	38	17	—	17	221	14	207	60	7	53	2	—	484	48	436	35	7	28	
U.S.A.	6896	202	6694	6	1	5	1	—	1	1140	42	1098	867	26	841	4	1	3	4820	132	4688	58	—	58
Japan	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	
India	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	—	
Brazil	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	
Canada	21	2	19	—	—	—	15	2	13	6	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Spain	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Total Other Countries	28	3	25	—	—	—	15	2	13	7	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	6	1	5	—	—	—	
Grand Total	10035	917	9118	47	4	43	33	2	31	1404	70	1334	1011	65	946	11	3	8	7021	679	6342	508	94	414

Source: Ministry of Higher Education.

Table 24: Number of Saudi Students Studying Abroad by Country and Educational level (1979-80).

Tables 24-28 provide a summary of Saudi students studying abroad over a period of years and demonstrate how a large number of students travelled to the United Kingdom during the 1980s. As with previous decades, the vast majority of those were male. Of those females who did travel abroad to study, the vast majority were in non-technical areas, primarily the Humanities, while male students were much more commonly to be studying the technical disciplines of science and engineering. Although, as Table 28 highlights, the social sciences and humanities were not only popular with some travelling abroad for gender reasons, but also because the courses tended to be shorter – 3 or 4 years – and thus required less time away from home. The religious factor also played a role, as Table 24 shows, and this was one explanation

given for the choice of the social sciences, which included humanities and education. However, it is also true that studying the Humanities and Social Sciences in particular offered students the opportunity to gain an in-depth understanding of western cultures and values which they brought home at the conclusion of their studies.

Education

التعليم

الطلبة الذين يدرسون في الخارج لأول مرة حسب ميادين الدراسة الرئيسية والبلدان في السنوات

١٣٩٨/١٣٩٧ - ١٤٠٢/١٤٠١ هـ

Number of Students Studying Abroad for the First Time by Main Field of Study & Countries, 1397/98 — 1401/1402 A.H.

Table 2-53

جدول ٢ - ٥٣

Years & Countries	Sex	1401/1402					1400/1401					1399/1400					1398/99					1397/98					المسوات و البلدان	ميدان الدراسة الرئيسية		
		جميع	البلدان اخرى	البلدان الاسلاميه	البلدان العربيه	البلدان الاوربيه	جميع	البلدان اخرى	البلدان الاسلاميه	البلدان العربيه	البلدان الاوربيه	جميع	البلدان اخرى	البلدان الاسلاميه	البلدان العربيه	البلدان الاوربيه	جميع	البلدان اخرى	البلدان الاسلاميه	البلدان العربيه	البلدان الاوربيه	جميع	البلدان اخرى	البلدان الاسلاميه	البلدان العربيه	البلدان الاوربيه				
		Total	Other Countries	Islamic Countries	Arab Countries	Europe	Total	Other Countries	Islamic Countries	Arab Countries	Europe	Total	Other Countries	Islamic Countries	Arab Countries	Europe	Total	Other Countries	Islamic Countries	Arab Countries	Europe	Total	Other Countries	Islamic Countries	Arab Countries	Europe			U.S.A.- Canada	
Humanities.....	M	49	—	—	3	1	63	—	—	—	1	3	59	38	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	48	فنون	علوم إنسانية	
	F	628	—	—	14	11	603	16	—	—	10	1	5	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	ثالث		
Education.....	M	189	—	—	73	116	64	9	—	—	4	2	49	64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54	ثالث	تربية وتعليم	
	F	9	—	—	1	7	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	ثالث		
Fine Arts.....	M	5	—	—	1	—	4	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	فنون جميلة		
	F	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
Law.....	M	12	—	—	3	—	9	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	ثالث	قانون	
	F	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Sociological Science.....	M	289	3	—	14	30	242	220	—	—	—	7	12	201	224	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	46	ثالث	علوم اجتماعية	
	F	41	1	—	24	4	12	16	—	—	—	11	2	3	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	ثالث		
Physics.....	M	155	—	—	4	13	138	267	—	—	—	3	13	251	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	105	ثالث	علوم طبيعية	
	F	9	—	—	3	1	5	8	—	—	—	5	—	3	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	ثالث		
Education.....	M	217	3	—	3	12	199	211	—	—	1	4	6	200	178	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	ثالث	هندسة	
	F	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Medicine & P. Health.....	M	68	11	5	11	27	14	79	15	6	11	18	29	78	1	2	19	21	35	80	6	17	19	38	96	59	4	33	طب وصحة عامة	
	F	12	3	1	6	1	10	1	2	3	2	2	11	—	3	5	—	3	7	—	3	2	2	31	—	29	—	2		
Agriculture.....	M	14	—	—	—	2	12	41	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	91	ثالث	زراعة	
	F	3	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	ثالث		
Other.....	M	620	—	—	344	150	86	161	—	—	5	32	21	103	179	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	158	ثالث	أخرى
	F	252	1	—	270	6	15	39	—	—	—	21	13	5	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	74	ثالث		
Total.....	M	1618	17	5	423	308	865	1123	24	12	69	81	937	900	1	10	72	46	771	862	12	74	63	713	1112	2	178	12	921	المجموع
	F	956	5	1	280	24	646	97	2	2	52	19	22	60	—	4	39	2	15	97	2	45	15	35	137	—	114	—	23	
	T	2574	22	6	703	332	1511	1220	26	14	121	100	959	960	1	14	111	48	786	959	14	119	78	748	1250	2	292	12	944	جميع

Data for Canada includes one male student in Physics,
13 male students & two female students in medicine.

Source: Ministry of Higher Education.

• بيانات كندا تشمل : طالب واحد في العلوم الطبيعية ،
١٣ طالب - ٢ طالب في الطب عام ١٣٩٨ / ٩٩ هـ -
المصدر : وزارة التعليم العالي .

Table 25: Number of Students Studying Abroad for the First Time (1977/78 - 1980/81).

التعليم الطلبة الذين يواصلون دراساتهم في الخارج حسب بلدان الدراسة
ومواضيع الدراسة الرئيسية عام ١٤٠٣/١٤٠٤ هـ
Number of Students Studying Abroad by Country & Main Fields
of Study, 1403/1404 A.H.

Table 2-37

of Study, 1403/1404 A.H.

جدول ٢ - ٢٧

Field of Study	المجموع العام		أخرى		زراعة		طب		هندسة		علوم طبيعية		علوم اجتماعية		فنون		فنون جميلة		تربية وتعليم		علوم إنسانية		موضوع الدراسة		
	Grand Total		Others		Agriculture		Medicine		Engineering		Physics		Sociological Sciences		Law		Fine Arts		Education		Humanities				
	ج	م	ج	م	ج	م	ج	م	ج	م	ج	م	ج	م	ج	م	ج	م	ج	م	ج	م			
Countries	Total	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	البلدان	
Arab Countries	Egypt.....	428	164	264	100	164	—	—	21	66	—	3	3	2	25	10	1	5	—	3	—	1	14	10	مصر
	U.A.E.....	558	398	160	305	151	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	الإمارات العربية	
	Oman.....	150	150	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	150	—	—	—	—	عمان	
	Jordan.....	55	37	18	—	—	2	1	2	2	1	4	2	—	15	10	—	—	5	—	10	1	—	الأردن	
	Syria.....	37	16	21	—	—	—	7	14	—	7	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	4	—	—	سوريا	
	Bahrain.....	136	43	93	39	92	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	البحرين	
	Sudan.....	50	37	13	37	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	السودان	
	Kuwait.....	108	58	50	5	17	—	—	1	—	1	6	3	27	14	5	6	—	2	2	13	6	—	الكويت	
	Iraq.....	9	6	3	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	4	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	العراق	
	Morocco.....	17	16	1	15	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	المغرب	
	Qatar.....	19	16	3	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	1	—	قطر	
	Tunis.....	5	3	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	تونس	
	Algeria.....	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	الجزائر	
Other Countries	TOTAL A.C.	1574	946	628	591	436	2	1	34	86	2	17	13	8	73	39	8	12	—	3	159	3	64	23	جملة الدول العربية
	U.S.A.....	6550	2166	4384	1946	847	—	66	5	93	7	1166	23	522	44	1238	—	13	6	14	38	293	97	132	أمريكا
	U.K.....	1207	64	1143	21	510	—	39	12	130	1	99	5	133	14	66	—	3	3	—	2	139	6	24	بريطانيا
	W. Germany.....	288	57	231	—	—	—	1	26	10	195	1	2	2	4	—	—	—	3	2	40	2	—	—	ألمانيا الغربية
	Austria.....	120	33	87	23	7	—	3	79	—	1	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	النمسا
	Pakistan.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	باكستان
	Canada.....	131	9	122	—	—	—	7	105	—	10	2	4	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	كندا
	France.....	48	26	22	—	1	—	1	4	—	—	1	3	—	1	—	4	1	3	—	—	24	5	—	فرنسا
	Switzerland.....	43	31	12	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	4	5	1	—	1	—	—	—	25	4	—	سويسرا
	Italy.....	120	13	107	—	99	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	7	—	11	—	—	—	إيطاليا
	N.R. China.....	4	1	3	1	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	الصين الوطنية
	Brazil.....	7	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	—	—	البرازيل
	Total.....	8518	2465	6113	1991	1465	—	196	29	649	18	1473	34	665	68	1317	1	20	11	24	43	436	210	167	جملة الدول الأخرى
	Gross Total.....	10092	3351	6741	2582	1961	2	107	63	526	20	1490	47	673	141	1356	9	32	11	27	202	439	274	190	المجموع العام

المصدر : كتاب إحصاءات الطلبة السعوديين المبعثين للخارج ١٤٠٤/١٤٠٣ هـ ، وزارة التعليم العالي
1403/1404 A.H., Ministry of H. Education.
... البيانات غير متوفرة .

Table 26: Number of Saudi Students Studying Abroad by Country and Main Fields of study (1983-84).

Education

التعليم

الطلبة الذين يواصلون دراساتهم في الخارج حسب بلدان الدراسة
ومواضيع الدراسة الرئيسية عام ١٤١٥ هـ

Studying Abroad : College Students by Country and Main Field of Study :
1415 A.H.

Table 2-33

جدول ٢-٣٣

Main field of study Country		المجموع العام		اخرى		زراعة		طب		هندسة		علوم طبيعية		علوم اقتصادية		قانون		فنون جميلة		تربية وتعليم		علوم انسانية		مواضيع الدراسة الرئيسية البلدان	
		Total		Others		Agriculture		Medicine		Engineering		Physics		Social Sciences		Law		Fine Arts		Education		Humanities			
		جملة	ذكور	جملة	ذكور	جملة	ذكور	جملة	ذكور	جملة	ذكور	جملة	ذكور	جملة	ذكور	جملة	ذكور	جملة	ذكور	جملة	ذكور	جملة	ذكور		
		T.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	
Arab Countries		78	26	52	4	8	0	0	7	17	0	0	2	3	3	10	0	2	2	2	3	1	5	9	الدول العربية
American Countries	U.S.A.	2035	764	1271	40	63	2	38	20	160	4	342	101	337	44	410	0	10	22	3	55	37	478	281	الولايات المتحدة
	Canada	269	47	222	0	1	0	0	16	214	0	3	3	1	1	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	24	0	كندا
	Total	2714	811	1903	40	64	2	38	36	374	4	345	104	338	45	413	0	10	25	3	55	37	500	281	جملة الدول الأمريكية
European Countries	U.K.	535	53	482	5	15	0	23	17	92	0	61	5	115	15	109	0	11	0	0	4	26	7	30	بريطانيا
	Other European Countries	198	23	175	1	1	0	0	11	145	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	10	20	الدول الأوروبية الأخرى
	Total	733	76	657	6	16	0	23	28	237	0	63	6	115	15	109	0	18	0	0	4	26	17	50	جملة الدول الأوروبية
Pakistan		21	8	13	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	0	باكستان
Grand Total		6583	1808	4775	96	168	4	122	135	1246	8	816	222	913	123	645	0	58	52	8	121	128	1047	671	المجموع العام

Source : Ministry of Higher Education

المصدر : وزارة التعليم العالي

Table 27: Saudis Studying Abroad: College Students by Country and Main Field of Study (1995).

CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate that cultural diplomacy between the UK and Saudi Arabia was greatly improved over preceding decades and that the political aims of both governments; for the UK to secure oil supplies no matter what and for Saudi Arabia to secure technical and military expertise to preserve and enhance its security in a region of the world with some uncertainty was proceeding apace.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the good relations between the leaders of Saudi Arabia and Britain, King Fahd and Margaret Thatcher, respectively, led to the solidification of good relations, and the signing of arms deals worth billions of pounds to the British economy, as well as securing a supply of oil. Yet while the political friendships continued, the cultural relations were not so well developed.

From a previous review of the scientific aspects and cultural activities, it may be worth reminding of such activities - for example the chair, King Fahd Islamic Studies at the University of London - has led to a multiplicity of activities. With a focus on the Koran, it has held its sixth periodic studies of the Holy Koran – a conference that is held once every two years over three days, from 12-14 November 2009. That year the King Fahd chair received more than 230 research studies on the Koran from a large number of scientists and researchers in many universities. From these were selected 36 research through 11 sessions. The conference hosted a number of professors at British universities, and universities in the Arab and Islamic world and Europe who delivered their research on a number of topics including studies of the Koran.

All that could create awareness and better understanding of Islamic and Saudi culture. It can be evidenced by continued effectiveness of these chairs and the increasing turnout of students, especially after the events of September 11, which was

not the situation before, as was explained by Abdul Rahman Abul Magd, an expert in scientific Islamic chairs.⁴¹² On the contrary, they should create new chairs, and find new ways of communication between the chairs, in order to produce competent research on Arab and Islamic Studies, characterised by academic and scientific depth and encouragement for deeper research by professors and students of Western universities. Also, it needs further objective study of these chairs to take advantage of the experiment, and confirm the accuracy of the results such that one can verify the advantages and disadvantages of the system.

Non-governmental organisations, such as the Saudi-British Society, were keen to promote their activities to business leaders and politicians, but were lacking in their promotion of the country to the population at large. So the mistrust and cultural misunderstandings that had been so prevalent in earlier decades continued, with Saudi justice and law being probed and doubted, such as with the trial of the two nurses, Lucille McLaughlin and Deborah Parry, or with the chill in diplomatic relations following the broadcast of *Death of A Princess*.

Those activities by the NGOs in building cultural relations were few and far between, with only four such activities in as many years, and it may be concluded that this was a greatly missed opportunity. Attempts to build cultural relationships, especially in the educational field such as donations to schools and universities were also misconstrued as attempts to bribe the establishments, which was perhaps a response to the bribery scandals surrounding the arms deals of the 1980s, which were a big controversy in the UK but were barely reported in Saudi Arabia. Some of these

⁴¹² Abdul Rahman Abul Magd, .2010. "Arab Chairs from Recovery to Deflation", Alukah, Saudi Arabia.

were quickly debunked by the UK broadsheets, but the tabloids continued to sensationalise stories of Saudi torture and brutality, such as of the two nurses, that could only alienate the population toward Saudi Arabia.

Despite this, there was a continued desire by Saudi students to travel abroad to study, and the UK consistently provided a large number of students with educational opportunities. As we have shown, from a peak in the mid-1980s and a steady decline to 1989, from 1990 to 2000 there was a steady increase in the number of students travelling abroad to study, and it was only in 2001-2 that this trend was curtailed following the events of 9/11, which first led to a rapid reduction in the number of students travelling, or allowed to travel, abroad and then led to a rapid increase in the number of students such that by 2006 there were twice as many students studying abroad as during the peak numbers of the 1980s.

In terms of gender, Saudi students travelling abroad were mostly male, with opportunities for female students to travel reduced following the Saudi government's appeasement to the demands of religious scholars in 1982. Those female students that did study abroad took mostly humanities and social sciences, while their male counterparts studied technical and scientific subjects. Of whichever gender, though, it appears that many of the students remained unaware of the activities of NGOs such as the Saudi-British society.

In conclusion, the period of the 1980s and 1990s was good for political and economic relations, with the signing of arms deals and the promotion of Saudi Arabia as a market for business, yet not so good for cultural relations, which were filled with a period of mistrust, misunderstandings and accusations. In terms of education, attempts to sponsor cultural relations were misconstrued as attempts at bribery and influence of British universities while cultural activities and cultural connections were

few and far between. It appears that it was only the events of 9/11 and the War on Terror that resulted in a sudden increase in opportunities for Saudi students to travel abroad, and the impact of these events will be discussed further in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

THE IMPACT OF 9/11 ATTACKS ON ANGLO-SAUDI CULTURAL RELATIONS

“Reforming the Kingdom is not a choice, it is a necessity.”
 Prince Turki Al-Faisal, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, to the Court of
 St James (2003).⁴¹³

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines and analyses the impact of the New York attacks of 11 September 2001 on Anglo-Saudi cultural relations in the years 2001-11. One interesting and original aspect of this chapter will be its examination of how the Anglo-American relationship has influenced Anglo-Saudi ties in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 9/11.

From there it will also look at the impact of the 7/7 attacks in London on the Anglo-Saudi cultural relationship, especially on cultural institutions that were born out of the 1975 Agreement, such as the King Fahad Academy, Islamic Schools and Mosques, and its effect on the wider Muslim community in Britain.

6. The War on Terror

The phrase was first used by US President George W. Bush, in an address to a joint session of Congress on 20 September 2001⁴¹⁴ in the aftermath of the attacks on New

⁶⁸ Abdulhadi Khalaf and Giacomo Luciani, 2007. *Constitutional Reform and Political Participation in the Gulf*, (Gulf Research Centre: Dubai), p. 92.

York and Washington. It was a war declared by the Bush administration against international terrorism, specifically al-Qaeda and their affiliate terrorist groups, with the aim of searching out and destroying international terrorist groups – their camps, money and leaders.

In the same speech, Bush articulated the goals of the “War on Terror”, which he said, “will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated”. In that same speech, he called the war “a task that does not end”, and that phrase was used again by Bush in his 2006 State of the Union address.

There are numerous definitions of terrorism, although some see the one put forward by the French scholar Raymond Aron as most appropriate for the events of 9/11 and thereafter.⁴¹⁵ Aron argued that terrorism occurred when the “psychological effects [of violence] are out of all proportion to its purely physical result.”

The separation between the psychological impacts and actual physical damage is an important way of thinking about the implications of 9/11. The psychological effect has been enormous and arguably has been transmuted into the cultural relationship between Saudi Arabia, home to many of the 9/11 attackers, and Western partners, in particular the US and Britain.

6.1 Britain and the Attacks of 9/11

In the wake of the 9/11 attacks on New York, there was an enormous feeling of loss, sympathy and support for the US and a growing consensus that the US was too slow in dealing with Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda terrorist network after the August

⁴¹⁴ George W. Bush in his Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People (20 September 2001). “Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.”

⁴¹⁵ Raymond Aron, 1966. *Peace and War*, (Weidenfeld and Nicholson: London:, 1966), pp. 168-75.

1998 bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and subsequently, in 2000, the bombing of the USS Cole off the coast of Yemen.⁴¹⁶

The Anglo-American relationship has seen continuous growth and further comity on global issues, such as the Middle East, for much of the period since the end of World War II. Therefore the events of 9/11, centred as they were on Saudi Arabia, meant that it was inevitable that they would have a direct impact on the Anglo-Saudi relationship.

Then British prime minister, Tony Blair, offered the US unconditional diplomatic and military support, as well as intelligence co-operation, and promised that important considerations in the coming war on terror, such as extradition laws,⁴¹⁷ the financing of terrorist groups and money-laundering, would all be reconsidered in the light of the attacks.⁴¹⁸

On 14 September 2001, Blair set out his three main initial objectives:

1. To seek, capture and punish the perpetrators.
2. To establish a global alliance against Terrorism.
3. To contribute to agreement over a legal framework for the global alliance against Terrorism.

One month after 9/11, Blair's government provided evidence to the British parliament implicating Al-Qaeda, headed by Osama bin Laden, as the perpetrators of the attacks of 9/11. In addition, Blair importantly attempted to draw a distinction between Britain's right of self-defence against the terrorists and the many grievances voiced by

⁴¹⁶ Ronald A. Marks, 2010. *Spying in America in the Post 9/11 World: Domestic Threat and the Need for Change*, (Praeger: Santa Barbara CA, USA), pp.87-9.

⁴¹⁷ The British government moved quickly to pass the Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act in December 2001. Part 4 of the Act allowed for the Home Secretary to identify any non-British citizen whom he suspected to be a terrorist would be deported. In addition, the maximum detention period for someone not charged with a crime was raised from seven days to twenty-eight days.

⁴¹⁸ House of Commons, 2001 "11 September 2001: The Response", *House of Commons, Research Paper 01/72*.

the Muslim World. Thus the War on Terror, he argued should not to be misinterpreted as an attack on the Muslim World or impact negatively on Britain's close relations with Saudi Arabia. But Blair also defended the morality of any forthcoming military action that saw the involvement of British forces. The goal, he insisted would not be revenge, but "justice", as well as the "protection of our people and our way of life."⁴¹⁹

Within hours of the 9/11 attacks, the Saudi government issued a statement characterising the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon as "regrettable and inhuman."⁴²⁰ King Fahd denounced the attacks, adding only that the Kingdom stood by the world community in fighting terrorism and was quoted as saying that his country "rejects being associated with any person whose name is linked to terrorism"⁴²¹. In contrast to the British position, Saudi Arabia was the only country in the world, after the United States, which felt the full force of the blast of 9/11. The Saudis spent a huge amount of effort and money to bring back the standard of relations it had with The West, particularly the US, prior to the crisis. Although fifteen of the nineteen hijackers were Saudi nationals⁴²², the Congress's Joint Inquiry report published in 2004 found no relation linking the Saudi government and Al-Qaeda terrorist network. However the media frenzy campaign against the Saudi people had done the damage, in that Saudi nationals were treated as terror suspects just because they were Saudi.

Domestically, the Saudi Arabian alliance with the West, in particular the willingness of the royal family to open Saudi territory – the home of Islam's two

⁴¹⁹ Tom Lansford, 2001. *9/11 and the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq: A Chronology and Reference Guide*, (ABC-CLIO: Santa Barbara CA, USA), pp. 230-40.

⁴²⁰ Anthony H. Cordesman and Nawaf Obaid, 2005. *Al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia: Asymmetric Threats and Islamist Extremists*, (Center for Strategic and International Studies: Washington DC, USA), pp. 11-3.

⁴²¹ Rawhi Abeidoh, "Saudi leaders shy away from military role", (*the Guardian*, 18 September 2001).

⁴²² Rosemary Hollis, 2010. *Britain and the Middle East in the 9/11 Era*, (Wiley Blackwell: London), p. 172.

holiest sites, Makkah and Medina – to non-Muslim soldiers in response to Saddam’s invasion of Kuwait, resulted in a backlash from Islamists. Salman al-Awda and Safar al-Hawali, who earned the title the “awakening preachers”⁴²³, epitomised this. Both were outspoken critics of the Saudi government’s relationship with the West and their attacks were heard across the country in taped sermons and speeches that generated significant debate.⁴²⁴

Following a series of deadly domestic terrorist attacks in 2003, that threatened to destabilise Saudi Arabia and the region, the government of Saudi Arabia began an aggressive and sweeping counterterrorism initiative. In addition to long-established security and law enforcement efforts to kill and capture terrorists, a parallel strategy was launched to combat the ideological justifications for violent extremism within the Kingdom⁴²⁵. This “soft”⁴²⁶ counter-terrorism strategy is made up of three parts, firstly, prevention programmes to deter people from getting involved with violent extremism, secondly, rehabilitation programmes designed to inspire supporters and sympathisers to renounce violence, and finally after-care programmes to prevent relapse and to reintegrate people back into Saudi society.⁴²⁷

The growing use of unusual, “soft” measures to fight vicious extremism in Saudi Arabia showed success and encouraged other nations in the region, including the United States in Iraq, to adopt similar programmes⁴²⁸. According to the Saudi authority in Riyadh, roughly 3,000 detainees have engaged-in Saudi Arabia’s

⁴²³ Sherifa Zuhur, 2005. *Saudi Arabia: Islamic Threat, Political Reform, and the Global War on Terror*, (Strategic Studies Institute: Carlisle, PA, USA), p. 25.

⁴²⁴ Ibid. p. 27.

⁴²⁵ Anthony H. Cordesman, 2009. *Saudi Arabia: national security in a troubled region*, (Praeger: Santa Barbara CA, USA), pp. 320-1.

⁴²⁶ Thomas Hegghammer, “There is nothing soft about Saudi counterterrorism”, (*Foreign Policy*, 11 March 2010).

⁴²⁷ Angel M. Rabasa et al., 2004. *The Muslim World after 9/11*, (Rand Corporation: Santa Monica CA, USA), pp. 152-155.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., p. 158.

rehabilitation campaign—which seeks to address the underlying factors that encourage extremism and stop further brutal extremism. Saudi authorities claim a rehabilitation success rate of 80-90%, having re-arrested only 35 individuals for security offences.⁴²⁹

Saudi Arabia pursued the help, knowledge and the support of the UK government in fighting the extremist; in doing so, it benefited a great deal from the UK's longstanding experience in combating terrorist groups in Ireland and elsewhere. In turn, the UK looked to learn from the Saudi programme of Prevention, Rehabilitation and After-care programmes that made up its “soft” counterterrorism response.

6.2 Political Impact of 9/11 and British Public Opinion

The British government had considerable previous experience dealing with terrorist groups at home, for example the Irish Republican Army (IRA) bombing campaigns across the UK over a number of decades.⁴³⁰ Nevertheless, the 9/11 attacks had a profound effect on the British psyche, a large-scale terrorist attack that unfolded on daytime TV for the first time in British history. The attack claimed more British lives than any other similar incident, including the Lockerbie bombing, when Pan Am Flight 108 was blown-up over the Scottish town in 1988. However, the decision by British prime minister Tony Blair to join the US “War on Terror” in Afghanistan, and subsequently in Iraq in 2003, has contributed further to polarizing British public opinion on numerous issues, from the use of force to the status of Muslims in Britain.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., p. 168.

⁴³⁰ Steven Kettell, 2011. *New Labour and the New World Order: Britain's Role in the War on Terror*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester).

This latter issue has always concerned Saudi Arabia, and the Saudi government has worked hard to promote a positive impression. For example, in 1998 the biggest Mosque in Scotland, the King Fahd Mosque and Islamic Centre of Edinburgh, was inaugurated by HRH Prince Abdul-Aziz bin Fahd in 1998, in the presence of a large number of Saudi diplomats. Every year, during the Edinburgh Festival in August, the Mosque hosts a “Discover Islam” exhibition, a free exhibition which discusses topics about Islam and is open to Muslims and non-Muslims alike.⁴³¹

The Labour government’s support for a military campaign was motivated by a desire to assist its long-time ally the United States in its new global initiative and to play a role on the world stage. Though always set within a political framework that has prioritised humanitarian values, Blair’s government’s manipulation of the War on Terror also turned out to be largely damaging, destroying trust between citizen and the state, putting the armed forces under increased pressure fighting multiple wars, diminishing Britain’s global status and arguably heightening the threat from radical Islamic terrorism as evident by the 7/7 London bombings in 2005.⁴³²

The 7/7 bombings were the culmination of a period in which British public opinion became increasingly sceptical of the UK role in the Middle East, especially the Iraq war. The bombings also highlighted the strains on the Anglo-Saudi bilateral and cultural relationship in those years. These developments led to a new dynamic⁴³³ in Anglo-Saudi cultural ties, as the Anglo-American alliance on the War on Terror, especially the April 2003 invasion of Iraq, exerted regional pressure on Saudi Arabia,

⁴³¹ “Saudi Arabia’s achievements in the service of Islam and Muslims”, (Al-Darah King Abdul Aziz Library).

⁴³² Kettell, *New Labour and the New World Order*.

⁴³³ Cordesman and Obaid, *Al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia*, pp. 18-20.

a situation that was not helped by a failed copycat attack on the London transport system on 21 July 2005, two weeks after the 7/7 bombings.⁴³⁴

Saudi officials were quick to play down the Saudi aspect of the attacks and distance Saudi Arabia from the London attacks. Soon after the 7/7 attacks on London's transport networks, Saudi Arabia's ambassador to London, Prince Turki Al-Faisal, told BBC Radio 4, that, "The modus operandi, the sheer cowardice associated with them and the attacks on innocent civilians - these are all part and parcel of Al-Qaida [sic]."⁴³⁵ The Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Abdul Aziz Al-Sheikh, denounced the deadly blasts that rocked London, saying, "Killing and terrorising innocent people and the destruction of property are not condoned by Islam". He also censured the terrorists for tarnishing the image of Islam by attaching their heinous crimes to the religion.⁴³⁶ Saudi Arabian Social Affairs Minister Abdulmohsen Al-Akkas said, his country, battling a two-year wave of attacks by Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda network, knew what London was suffering. "We understand. Since May 2003 we have been experiencing the horrors of terrorist acts", said Akkas, who was visiting London at the time of the bombings.⁴³⁷

As well as expressing its affinity with the British suffering, Saudi Arabia sought other ways to improve its political and diplomatic stand against the tide of international terrorists. They successfully established an International Cultural Relations Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the primary goal of dealing with international crises and minimising their impact on the Kingdom. The new department provided more flexibility for the Saudi state to work on different

⁴³⁴ "21 July: Attacks, escapes and arrests", (*BBC News*, 11 July 2007).

⁴³⁵ "London Police Nab Man in Latest Bombings" (quoted to BBC Radio 4). Source: The Washington Post.

⁴³⁶ "Grand Mufti and Others Denounce London Bombings", (*Fatwa-Online*, 09 July 2005).

⁴³⁷ *The Independent*, 8 July 2005.

fronts to improve the Saudi image abroad, which was tarnished by the attacks of 9/11.⁴³⁸

The forming of the new department showed the commitment of the Saudi government to peace and security in the region and throughout the world.⁴³⁹ Saudi diplomats worked very hard during the last decade to establish, maintain and promote a broad alliance within the Arab and Islamic world, as a means to confront and defeat Al-Qaeda and its affiliate terrorist groups.⁴⁴⁰

6.3 Anglo-Saudi Relations and 9/11

As a new world order was unfolding after the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center, British relations with Saudi Arabia were forged by two primary concerns, in addition to the conservation of long-established ties and good trade relations.⁴⁴¹ The first issue was the war in Iraq, which began in 2003 and for which the US and Britain required the operational and logistical support of Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Arab Gulf States. The second issue was the urgency to encounter and defeat Al-Qaeda and its sympathisers from threatening Saudi Arabia and the region.⁴⁴² Already, by the end of 2002, Saudi Arabia had stepped up its support for many international and regional efforts in the fight against terrorism through multilateral and bilateral agreements. This included working more closely with US, European, and Asian governments, as well as the United Nations, in order to ensure that information was

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Naef Bin Ahmed Al-Saud, 2009. "Saudi Arabia's Strategy to Combat Terrorism: An Insider's Perspective", *RUSI Journal*, (Royal United Services Institute: London), vol. 154 (6). See also Hegghammer, "There is nothing soft about Saudi counterterrorism".

⁴⁴¹ Cordesman, *Saudi Arabia enters the 21st century*, pp. 215-6.

⁴⁴² Rabasa, *The Muslim world after 9/11*.

shared accordingly and more effectively than in the pre-9/11 era. This included a number of major initiatives:

- The establishment of a counterterrorism committee with the US, made up of intelligence and internal security personnel to share expertise and information.
- The encouragement of Saudi government departments and banks to participate in international seminars, conferences and symposia on combating terrorist financing activities.

These measures allowed for the exchange of information on money laundering between the Saudi Arabian Monetary Authority (SAMA) and international organizations.⁴⁴³

The Saudi *Estakhbarat*'s (Saudi General Intelligence Service) assistance with fighting Osama bin Laden's terrorist group is cited as a key strategic element for continuing bilateral agreements to strengthen Anglo-Saudi relations.

The War on Terror and 9/11 also brought about a new dynamic in Anglo-American relations. Tony Blair was clear that his country stood "shoulder to shoulder" with the US. The first consequence of this new reality to impact on Saudi Arabia was Britain's adoption, in co-operation with Washington, of a new opinion of religious extremism, charitable donations, money laundering and intelligence sharing.⁴⁴⁴ On the other hand, in response to the 9/11 attacks Saudi Arabia increasingly paid attention to alternatives to formal diplomacy to achieve its objectives. At the heart of this approach is the concept of "soft power" in bridging differences between nations.

⁴⁴³ Cordesman, *Saudi Arabia enters the 21st century*, p. 120.

⁴⁴⁴ "Cordesman: 9/11 Commission Report Lacks Specifics", (*Council on Foreign Relations*, 03 August 2004).

In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the fact that fifteen of the nineteen hijackers were from Saudi Arabia came as a serious blow to the image of Saudi Arabia and its international relations, especially with the US and Britain.⁴⁴⁵ In the US, the Saudi government hired the PR Company Burson-Marsteller to “place newspaper ads all over the US condemning the attacks and dissociating Saudi Arabia from them”. This was the first stage of a concerted effort undertaken by the Saudi embassy to publically disassociate their country from the attacks. Although there was no such formal approach in the UK, the BBC was used regularly to present the Saudi position and to publically denounce terrorism and defend Saudi Arabia’s stand on the War on Terror, in order to alleviate the harm done to the reputation of the country.⁴⁴⁶

However, Saudi Arabia’s greatest contribution came with the co-operation and influence it offered in combating extremism. Like the British, the Saudi security forces had a depth of understanding of Al-Qaeda’s terrorist network. As such, the Saudi security force’s handling of the 2003 waves of attacks by Al-Qaeda on the Kingdom, earned them the applause of even sceptical foreign policymakers and intelligence communities.⁴⁴⁷

Prince Turki Al-Faisal, head of the Saudi *Estakhbarat*, was one of the key architects in invigorating the Anglo-Saudi bilateral relationship in his short time as the ambassador to London in 2002. His appointment was seen as a sign of the difficulty the Saudi government was facing at all levels; local, regional and internationally. While in residence in London, he managed to boost the bilateral relationship at the time of attacks at home and abroad. He also established a Women’s section in the

⁴⁴⁵ James Vaughan, “A certain idea of Britain: British Cultural Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1945 – 1957”, *Contemporary British History*, (Routledge: London), vol. 19 (2), pp.151-68.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Cordesman and Obaid, *Al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia*, pp. 9-12.

Saudi Embassy in London, the first of its kind in all Saudi Diplomatic missions worldwide. On the cultural front he established “The Saudi Days” festival, which consisted of exhibitions, a book fair and folklore. Prince Charles was one of the important guests to attend and enjoy a taste of Saudi culture in London.⁴⁴⁸

As noted above, much of this public/cultural diplomacy offensive by Saudi Arabia after 9/11 was focused on the US, its key ally and the victim of the al-Qaeda attacks. However, it is very difficult, and not necessarily productive, to try to delineate between Saudi efforts in the US and UK. This is because the position of the British, the reaction of the Americans, and the stand of the Saudi government in relation to 9/11, can be described as a pyramid, where the base is the British-American relationship. This explains why the Saudi government continued the consultation process with both the British and American governments on various issues, including political, economic and security affairs for the duration of the post-9/11 crisis. It also explains why the Saudi government shared information systematically with both governments and why it felt compelled to develop its own strategic approach to combat terrorism, in defiance of the Americans but in agreement with Britain. Highlighting in the process the possibility for Saudi Arabia to exploit the differences between both parties on specific issues. Indeed, in relation to Anglo-Saudi bilateral and cultural relations, 9/11 was the perfect benchmark to test the durability, viability and strength of the bilateral relationship. Bilateral ties have suffered a great deal of strain, as was clear in the first days after the attack when the Saudi ambassador to London was either fobbed off or ignored, indicating the seriousness of the situation. In response, the Saudi government spent a great deal of effort and money to lessen the damage caused by 9/11.

⁴⁴⁸ Hollis, *Britain and the Middle East in the 9/11 Era*, pp. 173-4.

As was discussed in Chapter 5, in the period from 2001 to 2006, there was a distinct and rapid upward trend in the number of Saudi student scholarships. In 2004 the number of students on scholarships to the United Kingdom comprised 22.9 per cent of the total share of students, with about 1,580 students, an increase of 32.5 per cent compared with the previous year. Then the total number of students on scholarships in 2006 dramatically increased to 25,433 students around the world, including approximately 10.5 per cent in the United Kingdom.

Similarly, in tables 29 and 30, showing the number of passengers travelling to and from Saudi Arabia by air, there was an increase in the number of Saudis travelling to London in the period of 2002-2005, with a slight drop in 2006. Comparing the numbers of Saudi travellers to New York with those to London, there was no similar increase to that seen in London with four times less passengers travelling compared to London, and numbers staying roughly similar until 2006, when there was an increase of over 5,000 compared to the previous years. This suggests that Britain, even after the 11 September attacks, continued to accept travellers from Saudi Arabia without fear that they might stage terrorist attacks. It was perceived to be a positive sign that Britain continued to be open and embracing to Saudi nationals and respect whatever reason they might have for visiting the country.

From	Total
London	74,373
New York	18,594

Table 22: Saudi Airlines: Total Number of Arrivals from London and New York (1997-2005)

To	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Frankfurt	8,185	7,998	8,814	9,160	7,243
London	64,384	64,339	72,507	80,035	73,530
New York	14,456	13,524	14,422	13,004	18,286

Table 29: Saudi Airlines: Passengers Travelling from Saudi Arabia to London, Frankfurt and New York (2002 -2006).⁴⁴⁹

We have established that cultural exchange is a necessary part of cultural diplomacy. In 1999, two years before the events of 9/11, HRH Prince Khalid Al-Faisal formally launched the Painting & Patronage Foundation in Riyadh, with its principal international office in London. The foundation hosts prominent cultural and educational exchange initiatives between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the international community, and especially with Britain.⁴⁵⁰ After the September 11 attacks, it can be said that these exchanges continued between Britain and Saudi Arabia, with the hope of not only strengthening their partnership but also in making each of their own communities more diverse; accepting and embracing various cultures.

In an informal interview with Daniel Kawczynski MP, Chairman of the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Saudi Arabia, he indicated that the group was not very active in Parliament until he took over in 2006. He described the function of that body as:

“The group is there to host debates. We go to see the foreign ministry sometimes, with members of the group, to talk about Saudi Arabia or we hold discussions here in Parliament. We have entertained members of the Saudi Council here at formal

⁴⁴⁹ Saudi Arabia Airlines, 2006. “Passengers Travelling from Domestic to Foreign Airport. Statistical Yearbook”, (Central Dept. Of Statistics and Information. Ministry of Economy and Planning).

⁴⁵⁰ Painting and Patronage “Who we are”.

dinners and we have taken members of the Council to other parts of the United Kingdom. If there are any visiting Saudi dignitaries (important high-ranking people) we will always invite them to Parliament as well to meet with parliamentarians. So it is a caucus group of parliamentarians who are interested in promoting relations with Saudi Arabia.

We will try to promote relations with Saudi Arabia on a binational basis, politician to politician, but inevitably if there are opportunities to promote British companies in Saudi Arabia, or to try to help with the Saudi investment in the United Kingdom and that is something we want to support as well.”

When asked about cultural and social exchange, and whether this has been achieved, he raised an important point:

“No, not so much. I don't think we have achieved anything like as much in terms of cultural and social interaction because there are various impediments in our way. I think that the difficulties in obtaining a visa to Saudi Arabia is in my view very detrimental to furthering relations between the countries, and I have had experience of people outside of politics who have found it very difficult to get visas to go to Saudi Arabia, so that is a restriction which impedes progress in this area.”

This point of view has been heard many times while the author was living in Britain; from a colleague, who married a crew member who works in Saudi Airlines and found it difficult to get an a visa to visit her, and from Mrs Ionis Thompson, the Honorary Secretary of the Saudi-British Society, with whom the author also spoke. Daniel continued that,

“the consensus is a lot of British people find getting a visa a rather complicated procedure and there can and have been delays in the past. That's certainly the feedback I have been given, but [...] people in Saudi Arabia are not cognisant of the group to anything like the degree they should be and there is very little coming from Saudi Arabia to the United Kingdom in terms of actually wanting to interact with Parliament. When they come here they always go to see government ministers and they don't make requests to come to see Parliament. So building a relationship is a two-way process and if people aren't coming to see us and aren't giving us proposals about cultural exchanges then it's not going to happen.”

6.3.1 The media impact on events between 2000-10

The media has a formidable role to play in enhancing global awareness and promoting multiculturalism, religious tolerance and living with different ethnic and gender differences in all societies across the globe.⁴⁵¹ However, there are also many disadvantages to the role of the media, such as circulating messages that create and magnify negative stereotypes, false statements and misconceptions. The media also can play a part in undermining the constructive dialogue and can work against mutual understanding between nations. The current 24/7 media organisations have removed the barriers and shortened the time between events unfolding in different countries and their reporting.⁴⁵² The media in the twenty-first century works through education and political tolerance by simply using consistent and repeated messages.⁴⁵³ The tabloid media and suitable television reports are successful to design tools of cognitive sophistication for target groups in order to put messages across, and the media can “impede great lies and propel great truths.”⁴⁵⁴ Perhaps this why there is always a close co-operation between what is emphasised in official statements and what emerges in the media coverage.⁴⁵⁵

6.3.1.1 British Media and Saudi Arabia

There is a debate among academics and researchers in the field of humanities and social sciences as to whether the level of trust between the leaders of Saudi Arabia and the UK can be transformed to the perception of the public in both countries

⁴⁵¹ Jagdish S. Gundara, 2001/2 “Multiculturalism in Canada, Britain and Australia: The Role of Intercultural Education”, *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, (British Association for Canadian Studies: London), vol. 17, pp. 40-59.

⁴⁵² Ross Howard and Shamil Idriss, 2006. “Research Base for the High-level Group Report Analysis on Media”, *Alliance of Civilizations Secretariat*, (United Nations: New York).

⁴⁵³ Jeremy Jarvis, 2002 “‘Never Forget’: Tony Blair’s Public Diplomacy during the Afghanistan Crisis September 11 – December 2001”, (dissertation on the RCDS course of international strategic studies), pp. 3-11.

⁴⁵⁴ “Tucker Eskew: American spin doctor in London”, (*The Independent*, 19 March 2002).

⁴⁵⁵ The Times 30 November 2001.

through trusted media coverage.⁴⁵⁶ Significant controversy surrounds the British media, and westerners as former imperialists, who tend to see Arab cultures through a prism of inferiority.⁴⁵⁷ Accordingly, Arab elites who have been trying to accommodate their traditional values and heritage within their practiced western civilization are disoriented by the hostility of western media against the very fabric of their culture.⁴⁵⁸

In this regard, it is fair to say the throughout history the negative coverage in British media far exceeds that of unprejudiced coverage. Richardson pointed out an inherent bias against Muslims and against Islam, especially in British national newspapers. Also, Muslims in Britain are usually excluded from coverage in the print media, and if it is included press coverage is generally negative and usually coded in the context of terrorism, violence and extremism.⁴⁵⁹ According to Nourah al-Khereiji, both Saudi students and the public at large are adversely affected when Islam or Islamic culture is wrongly addressed by the British media.⁴⁶⁰ Najjar⁴⁶¹ and Mahfuz⁴⁶² argue that the way in which Saudi citizens and Islam is portrayed in the western media has a direct impact on the whole process of understanding.

⁴⁵⁶ Ali Al-Qrani, “*azzmat al-khitab al-ilemi al-saudi baad ahdath alhadi alshr min septmeber*”. Also in Al-Hejailan, “The Future of Euro-Arab Dialogue”, pp. 118-27.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 120.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 122.

⁴⁵⁹ John E. Richardson, 2001 “British Muslims in the Broadsheet Press: A Challenge to Cultural Hegemony”. *Journalism Studies* (Routledge: London), vol. 2 (2), pp. 221-42.

⁴⁶⁰ Nourah Abdul Aziz al-Khereiji, “With Islam We Fight Terrorism”, (*Arab News*, 05 February 2005).

⁴⁶¹ A. Al-Fahadi, “Saudi Arabian Teachers’ Attitude and Perception Towards the Appropriate Cultural Models for the EFL Teaching In Saudi Public Schools”, Med. Dissertation, University of Exeter (2006); in Abdulrahman al-Fahadi, *Saudi Teachers’ views on Appropriate Cultural Models for EFL Textbooks: Insights into TESOL Teachers’ Management of Global Cultural Flows and Local Realities in Their Teaching Worlds*, 2010. (PhD thesis, Department of Education, The University of Exeter), pp. 15-6.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

Furthermore, many Saudi citizens are aware of harsh criticisms heaped on their cultures and heritage by the British media.⁴⁶³ According to al-Fahadi, some parents in Saudi Arabia may discourage their children or relatives from learning English, or at least give less encouragement to them to do well in learning the English language, when British media display such hatred of Arabic and Islamic cultures.⁴⁶⁴

Undoubtedly, some sections of Saudi citizenry by nature might be ambivalent about English culture, as they seem to be about many foreign cultures.⁴⁶⁵ But ambivalence can quickly turn into negativity if negative information about one's country is broadcast in the media. Portraying Muslims as violent nations pinpoints the growing cultural isolation among members of conservative Arab society, suggesting that their children may be more likely treated in the same manner if they travelled abroad to learn another culture.⁴⁶⁶ The media can deploy powerful visual images on the television to form a collective political and cultural perception of the Muslim world, which can be presented to British public as fact.⁴⁶⁷ No matter how noble one might believe the media coverage to be, affronted by images or reports have a negative impact on Muslim societies.⁴⁶⁸ Most of the time, some British media outlets were hopelessly naïve, not only in their presentation of the issues covered in their report, but even in terms of a profound misreading of the political landscape in the contemporary Middle East.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶³ Ibid., p. 24.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁶⁵ Z.L. Abuelma'atti, 2005. "Translation and Cultural Representation: Globalizing Texts, Localizing Cultures", (PhD Thesis, Salford University), p. 26, 2005.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴⁶⁷ H. Ataamish, 'awlamah am amrakah', (Globalization or Americanization), Cairo: Maktab al-Tiib, in: Abdulrahman al-Fahadi, *Saudi Teachers' views*.

⁴⁶⁸ Nel Ruigrok and Wouter van Atteveldt, 2007. "Global Angling with a Local Angle: How US, British and Dutch Newspapers Frame Global and Local Terrorist Attacks", *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, (SAGE Publications; Thousand Oaks, CA, USA), vol. 12 (1), pp. 68-90.

⁴⁶⁹ Ali Al-Qarni, 2007. "The Image of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in British Press after 9/11", *King Saud University*, pp. 1-10.

Michael Rosie et al. emphasised that the media of a country alone does not create the kind of image portrayed about another nation or country, but there are other institutions that work to achieve these goals and seek to create a certain stereotypical image of Muslims and Arabs. In those countries, some communities and institutions specialise in the provision of sensitive materials and information that is used in the creation of volatile ethnic or religious stereotyping. For example subjects about the Muslim community, or other ethnic or religious minorities for that matter, and use appropriate ways to form people's opinions.⁴⁷⁰ Those who believe that Arabs are lazy, terrorists and fundamentalists are likely to slow or halt any cultural exchange with the Middle East simply through their affirmative opposition of issues and news received through a variety of means.⁴⁷¹

Of course it is well known that stereotyping has intensified after 9/11, the series of coordinated suicide attacks in central London on 07 July 2005, and the killing of Theo van Gogh by a terrorist in Amsterdam in 2004.⁴⁷² Indeed, as terrorist activities continue to dominate in other countries such as Spain, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, negative publicity became even more closely linked to certain ethnic and religious groups than they were in the early 1980s and late 1990s.⁴⁷³ The more the term Islam becomes associated with negatively-stereotyped terrorist groups by the western media, the more likely religious tolerance will be undermined by the public,

⁴⁷⁰ Michael Rosie, et al., 2007. "Nation Speaking unto nation? Newspapers and national identity in the devolved UK", In: Ali Al-Qarni, "The Image of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in British Press after 9/11".

⁴⁷¹ Juyan Zhang and William L. Benoit, 2004. "Message Strategies of Saudi Arabia's Image Restoration Campaign After 9/11", *Public Relations Review* (Elsevier Inc.: Waltham MA, USA), vol. 30, pp. 161-7.

⁴⁷² Wayne Wanta, Guy Golan and Cheolhan Lee, 2003. "Agenda Setting and International News: Media Influence on Public Perceptions of Foreign Nations", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, (SAGE Publications: Thousand Oaks CA, USA), vol. 81 (2), pp. 364-77.

⁴⁷³ Edward Said, 1981, *Covering Islam: How The Media And The Experts Determine How We See The Rest Of The World*, (Pantheon Books: New York); in Marc Raboy, 1992. "Media and the Invisible Crisis of Everyday Life". Marc Raboy and Bernard Dagenais, eds., *Media, Crisis and Democracy: Mass Communication and the Disruption of Social Order*, (Sage Publications: London), pp. 133-43.

in both in Saudi Arabia and the UK.⁴⁷⁴ The volume of fears created by the media may instigate hostility against innocent people, because people rarely form their opinions based on a complete account of the facts. Public opinion in western countries could be easily manipulated by the media, reflecting demands for protection of the public even in the absence of real danger.⁴⁷⁵ In some instances, the media made the British public less tolerant of Islam and Islamic related cultures.⁴⁷⁶

Sometimes, the media as a main source of information about other cultures can breed contempt from both sides. In more recent studies, as a result of negative media coverage, the phenomenon of Islamophobia was found to be on the rise, and even native-born minorities were not immune from such prejudicial attitudes.⁴⁷⁷

The contribution of cultural exchange between the two kingdoms has often been associated with the learning and tolerance of each other's culture, but the British government has not utilised Saudi education institutions as vital propagators of the English language.⁴⁷⁸ Cultural exchange through English learning is also related to economic position,^{479,480} such that better English educated people earn more social status and financial rewards, and are generally less associated with terrorist activities than less educated ones.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁴ Edmund Ghareeb, ed., 1983. *Split Vision: the portrayal of Arabs in American media*, (American Arab Affairs Council).

⁴⁷⁵ Osman Mohammed Al-Arabi, , '*sorat al-mamlaka al-arabia alsaudia fi wasaeel al-elaam al-amrikiya ma namozag mogtrah letahssen sorat aye doula fi wasaeel elaam doula akhora*',

⁴⁷⁶ Ali Al-Qrani, "The Image of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in British Press after 9/11", p. 10.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Marieki de Mooij, 2014. *Global Marketing and Advertising: Understanding Cultural Paradoxes*, (Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks CA, USA).

⁴⁷⁹ Maha Akeel, "English Language Skills Acquire Importance", (*Arab News*, 28 August 2003).

⁴⁸⁰ Jane Jackson, 2005. "An inter-University, Cross-Disciplinary Analysis of Business Education: Perceptions of Business Faculty in Hong Kong", *English for Specific Purposes*, (Elsevier), vol. 24 (3), pp. 304–306.

⁴⁸¹ Mohammed Mahib ur Rahman and Eid Alhaisoni, "Teaching English in Saudi Arabia: Prospects and Challenges", *SAVAP International*, vol. 4 (1), pp. 112-118.

In contrast, at the moment the positive coverage of Saudi policy in the British media is few and far between, although perhaps at some time the British media might adopt a more flexible understanding of Arab culture.⁴⁸² To make a case in point, from 26 January to 15 April 2012, the British Museum hosted a major exhibition, “The Hajj; Journey to the Heart of Islam”. Charting the history of the Hajj pilgrimage, which has remained unchanged since the Prophet Mohammad’s time in the 7th century, the exhibition contained historical and contemporary art, textiles and manuscripts that were presented in the Museum for British people.⁴⁸³ According to Maev Kennedy, the exhibition was the first in any museum in the world to focus on the pilgrimage.⁴⁸⁴ There is no question that the coverage of the Hajj exhibition was one of the most constructive coverages of Saudi Arabia in British media history. The Guardian newspaper published a special report on Mecca and the Hajj pilgrimage.⁴⁸⁵ The newspaper viewed the exhibition as a major opportunity to solidify British-Saudi relations, and the exhibition elicited a positive response from the British public, who cannot visit Mecca for religious restrictions.⁴⁸⁶ Indeed, the Guardian newspaper still is showing Mecca artefacts until today as a clear indication that art can unite people from different doctrines.⁴⁸⁷

Prior to the Hajj exhibition, the British Museum had been awarded a grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) to finance the research for the exhibition and accompanying publication⁴⁸⁸. The award covered the cost of the academic conference on Hajj in a collaboration with the Department of Theology and

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ David Baker, “Mysteries of the Hajj revealed as British Museum opens exhibition on Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca”, (*The Daily Mail*, **26 January 2012**).

⁴⁸⁴ Maev Kennedy, “Hajj exhibition at British Museum” (*the Guardian*, 25 January 2012).

⁴⁸⁵ “Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam” The British Museum.

⁴⁸⁶ “Longing for Makkah”, British Muslim Experiences of the Hajj (Leeds University).

⁴⁸⁷ Peter Aspden, “Pilgrims’ Progress”, (*Financial Times*, 27 January 2012).

⁴⁸⁸ “Exhibition” British Muslim Experiences of the Hajj (Leeds University).

Religious Studies, University of Leeds to explore British Muslim communities' experiences of Hajj.⁴⁸⁹ Co-operation between the British Museum and the King Abdul-Aziz Public Library was also established during the exchange. The library was so pleased with their successful collaboration during the Hajj exhibition in London that it expressed its intention to disseminate knowledge and cultural exchange with British Museum in the future.⁴⁹⁰ Some British academic institutions have been active in the cultural aspect of the Hajj. Dr. Sean McLoughlin a leading academic, was funded by the British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship to report and talk about his research project on sociological, anthropological and religious elements of the Hajj and British Muslims.⁴⁹¹ Moreover, there are varying levels of involvement among anthropologists and historians from both countries who have worked to understand the common symbolic form of Muslim communities.⁴⁹²

It is also important to recognise that in the UK the State visit of King Abdullah to the UK in October 2007 received very intensive media coverage from the British Press. According to the BBC, King Abdullah was the guest of Queen Elizabeth II at Buckingham Palace and met British political leaders from both government and the opposition.⁴⁹³ During his visit, King Abdullah stressed the importance of Saudi-British relations through the tens of thousands of Saudis studying and working in the UK and the hundreds of thousands of Saudi citizens who come to Britain to visit or do business.⁴⁹⁴ Saudi Arabia has opened its doors to British media and they have been

⁴⁸⁹ "The Hajj and British Muslims", The British Museum.

⁴⁹⁰ Jocelyne Cesari and Sean McLoughlin, 2005. *European Muslims and Secular State*, (Ashgate: Farnham, UK).

⁴⁹¹ "Mid-Career Fellowship Competition 2013 Awards", The British Academy.

⁴⁹² Victor Turner and Edith Turner, 1978, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, (Columbia University Press; New York).

⁴⁹³ *The Times*, 28 October 2014.

⁴⁹⁴ Frank Gardner, "Saudi Visit to Seal Ties with UK", (*BBC News*, 28 October 2007).

allowed to observe for themselves what is going on.⁴⁹⁵ According to the *Times* newspaper, Saudi Arabia and the UK clearly matter to each other, with the relationship going well beyond being just a simple trading partner, with British commercial exports to Riyadh exceeding £11.5 billion GBP. The bilateral co-operation has led to more than 20-30,000 Britons living and working in Saudi Arabia.⁴⁹⁶

According to the Foreign Affairs Committee in London, relations between the UK and Saudi Arabia have traditionally been guided at two levels; that of government and that of the Royal Families. Such strong relations have also been supported by the more than 34,000 Saudi citizens resident in the UK.⁴⁹⁷ Although Saudi Arabia is not a tourist destination for Britons, over 70,000 British Muslims visit the holy sites in Mecca and Medina each year, and British Muslims make up the largest contingent from any Western state to the annual Hajj.⁴⁹⁸ The UK, particularly London, is considered a tourist destination for Saudis, and over 100,000 visits are made from Saudi Arabia every year, making the UK the European country most visited by Saudis in most years.⁴⁹⁹

Frank Gardner, who was shot and paralyzed by terrorists in Riyadh in 2002, wrote his story about Saudi Arabia in honest terms, illustrating his remarkable survival after being shot nine times by al-Qaeda operatives.⁵⁰⁰ The tragedy of his journalistic coverage in Saudi Arabia did not frighten him from saying in an interview with the *Daily Mail*,

⁴⁹⁵ “Prince Saud-Faisal Speech to the British media”, (*BBC News*, 30 October 2007).

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*,

⁴⁹⁷ Foreign Affairs Committee “Bilateral Relations with Saudi Arabia”, (Annual Report, March 2010). Accessed on 11 February 2015

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmfaaff/88/8807.htm>

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁰ Frank Gardner, “Bullets and Flashbacks Won’t Keep me Away”, (*The Times*, 29 April 2014).

“my return to Saudi Arabia was not just for journalism. This was a personal mission to a great country. I wanted to revisit the hospital where the doctors had saved my life, though I knew it would bring back painful memories. The King Faisal Specialist Hospital has a first-class reputation in medical circles but on the night I was taken there, close to death, I’d never heard of it”.⁵⁰¹

His book was a very important piece of media coverage, and vital to cementing the foundations of the relationship on a public level. Other reports in the British press stress the importance of reform within Saudi Arabia and seek to explain the background to the Saudi Royal Family away from the overwhelming number of reports linking Saudi Arabia with terrorism.⁵⁰²

Yet the shadow of terrorism is never far from reports about Saudi Arabia in the British media. When the appointment of Prince Turki al-Faisal as Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to London in 2002 was announced, this created wide-ranging media coverage. Some sections of the British media kept their reservations to the nomination by raising the fact that Prince Turki maintained contacts with the Taliban and Osama bin Laden.⁵⁰³ According to Anton La Guardia, diplomatic editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, “the Foreign Office should hold up the appointment of a new ambassador until Saudi Arabia releases British and other Westerners arrested in the kingdom on dubious charges of masterminding a series of bombings in the country.” Even after his appointment, the British media frequently reported these links, always associating the new Ambassador with “murky tale[s] of espionage, terrorism and torture”⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰¹ Frank Gardener, “They shot me six times and left me paralysed in a pool of blood - but I had to go back to Al Qaeda country”, (*Daily Mail*, 06 April 2013).

⁵⁰² Toby Harnden, “Saudi Reformers pin Their Hopes on New King but Know that any Change will come Slowly”, (*Daily Telegraph*, 07 August 2005).

⁵⁰³ Anton La Guardia, “New Saudi Envoy to London has bin Laden Links”, (*Daily Telegraph*, 19 October 2002).

⁵⁰⁴ Paul Harris and Martin Bright, “Saudi Envoy in UK Linked to 9/11”, (*the Observer*, 02 March 2003).

Nevertheless, Prince Turki displayed an ability to engage with the media by telling the BBC he was shocked at the Kingdom's poor image in Britain.⁵⁰⁵ When he arrived, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was facing two allegations of al-Qaeda, and Osama bin Laden as a Saudi citizen.⁵⁰⁶ Prince Turki decided he wanted to show the British public the right image of Saudi Arabia as a country with magnificent scenery, art, crafts, music and sport.⁵⁰⁷ He managed to engage with British media to present several cultural festivals in London, Manchester, Birmingham and Edinburgh.⁵⁰⁸ Through his remarkable ideas he created one of the most strategic forum. The forum was designed to show the importance of investment in Saudi Arabia through private and public partnership in Riyadh and London.⁵⁰⁹

The impact of the media on British public opinion and on political mobilisation was clear for Prince Turki Al-Faisal. When the Foreign Office in London issued a warning to the British people not to travel to Saudi Arabia he addressed the British press: "The kingdom wishes that when such advice is given by sources outside the kingdom that there would be co-ordination between the people giving the advice and the authorities in the kingdom."⁵¹⁰

The role of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the overwhelming attention the country has received throughout the country's history has provided the kingdom with significant positive and negative media coverage during the last decades.⁵¹¹ Despite enormous challenges facing the Kingdom with regard to regional security, the media coverage continued to ignore the major difficulties and has often concentrated on

⁵⁰⁵ "Prince Turki al-Faisal" (*BBC News*., 20 July 2005).

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ "Saudi Complaints at Terror Alert", (*Daily Telegraph*, 25 October 2003).

⁵¹¹ Ian Black, "Saudis Treat Domestic Staff Like 'Virtual Slaves'", (*the Guardian*, 09 July 2008).

stories intended to sensationalise the reforms in the country.⁵¹² Nevertheless, most of the mainstream media coverage considers the Kingdom as a country with an exceptional economic power and solid international relations,⁵¹³ and the British media rightly acknowledges the Kingdom's role in the global oil market.⁵¹⁴ The *Asharq Al-Awsat* newspaper gave full coverage to the fourth Saudi-British Club held in April 2009, in which the British Foreign Secretary emphasised Saudi students in the UK are participating effectively within the British educational system.⁵¹⁵ He also supported the existing co-operation between the Saudi universities and their British counterparts, including Leeds and Sheffield Universities who signed an agreement with King Saud University for nanotechnology and academic co-operation between the two countries.⁵¹⁶

The British media also acknowledged the impact of cultural exchange and co-operation as an important element of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom comprehensive strategic partnership.⁵¹⁷ The media is expected to play an exceptional role in enhancing mutual understanding between Saudi citizens and British public in promoting the value of their historic relations.⁵¹⁸ At the Two Kingdoms Dialogue hosted by the United Kingdom in London in October 2009, Saudi and British officials pointed out that cultural exchange is one of the pivotal factors of Saudi-British relations. The establishment of the Saudi-British high-level dialogue mechanism has resulted in creating two workshops to discuss higher education and

⁵¹² Souhail Karam, "Saudi Couple Forced to Divorce can Stay Married", (The Independent, 01 February 2010).

⁵¹³ Simeon Kerr, "Saudis Raise Higher Earnings", (*Financial Times*, 24 October 2007).

⁵¹⁴ Fiona Harvey and Gregory Meyer, "Oil Prices Rise Above \$85 on Saudi Signal", (*Financial Times*, 02 November 2010).

⁵¹⁵ "Dialogue between Two Kingdoms", *Asharq Al-Awsat*, 10 April 2009).

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ "Arab League Endorses Saudi Peace Plan", (*the Guardian*, 28 March 2002).

⁵¹⁸ "The Two Kingdoms Dialogue: Shared Challenges-Co-ordinated Solutions". (*Kingdom to Kingdom*, n.d.), p. 4.

cultural assistance.⁵¹⁹ The media has succeeded to highlight the success of those unique dialogues. And has presented a positive role of activities of the British Royal Family in Saudi Arabia and the influence of the Saudi royal Family on the international stage. During Prince Charles' visit to Saudi Arabia he praised the British expatriates working in the country,⁵²⁰ and a BBC profile of Prince Saud Al-Faisal praised his "diplomatic bearing, his knowledge of the West and his command of English [that] made him a natural choice for a role representing Saudi Arabia on the international stage."⁵²¹

The concept of forging a strong media is at the heart of Saudi government policy. What is really being envisaged is a policy of cultural exchange which will, at least, seek to encourage the two nations to come together. Therefore, it is very hard to believe that relations will be improved without taking considerable steps to remove stereotypes and opinions about each others culture.⁵²² Hence, since its inception the two Kingdoms Dialogue believes that issues of cultural integration are relevant to opinion formation through the media, because it can influence understanding process and decision-makers in both countries, and when the British government is keen to show the Prime Minister visiting a de-radicalisation centre then this has the effect of lessening the negative impression that terrorism and Saudi Arabia are linked.⁵²³ The outcome of those conferences has underlined in particular the role of British media in promoting co-operation programmes in the higher education institutes, universities, scientific research centres, and enhancing the role of the British Council in different parts of Saudi Arabia. So when the British media report positively the Queen

⁵¹⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Events of the Saudi-British Third Forum under the title (Two Kingdoms Dialogue... Common Challenges)."

⁵²⁰ "Charles Praises British-Saudi Relations", (*BBC News*, 10 February, 2004).

⁵²¹ Gerald Butt, "Profile: Saudi Prince Saud al-Faisal", (*BBC News*, 03 June 2004).

⁵²² "Viewpoint: British Expatriate in Saudi Arabia", (*BBC News*, 21 June 2002).

⁵²³ "Prime Minister Gordon Brown Visits Saudi 'Terror Centre'", (*BBC News*, 21 November 2008).

welcoming the Saudi King, and asking that the two nations “continue to work together to promote common values, strengthen mutual understanding and encourage appreciation of what is best in both our cultures,” this is a positive reaffirmation of the Two Kingdoms’ Dialogue.⁵²⁴ The two sides emphasised the importance of exchanging experiences between the two countries and agreed to establish common Saudi British technical training centres in Saudi Arabia.⁵²⁵ In addition, they agreed to expand the current level of trade agreements between Saudi Arabia and the UK which has had positive results for trade and industry.⁵²⁶

6.3.1.2 Positive Media Coverage

As we have discussed, positive media coverage plays a vital role in shaping the relations between communities and nations. The media can make citizens more sensible and able to accept other cultures, language, customs and way of life. Positive media coverage plays an important role in making people understand the value of tolerance and co-existence. The media can show the public the strength and the weakness of any society. On the other hand, unchecked and unfounded media coverage can cause unnecessary confusion and even political instability.

According an extensive report by the BBC, Saudi Arabia is considered one of the largest social media markets in the Middle East region. The popularity of social media has been increased by the high rate of smartphone ownership in Saudi Arabia.⁵²⁷ The BBC also argued that Saudi Arabia has the highest per-capita YouTube use of any country in the world. Despite these opportunities, many countries’ impressions of Saudi Arabia are still formed from “distorted perception”, and Use of

⁵²⁴ “Queen Hosts Saudi King at Palace Banquet”, (*Sky News*, 30 October 2007).

⁵²⁵ “Saudi Arabia Agrees to Buy Eurofighter Fleet”, (*Sky News*, 18 August 2006).

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ “Saudi Arabia Profile”, (*BBC News*, 22 August 2010).

such visual social media would be a great opportunity for Saudi people to enhance their cultural relations in informal way and to introduce their culture to the rest of the world and correct the negative image they have.⁵²⁸

It is clear the British media considers the Kingdom as a stabilizing force and a key partner in the whole Middle East. The tone of such positive coverage is so clear in the case of reporting of the positive impact of the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, the Prince Mohammed bin Naif Care Rehabilitation Center⁵²⁹ and the King Abdul Aziz Center for National Dialogue in combating the radicalisation of young Saudis.⁵³⁰

When considering the coverage of British newspapers it could be argued that the most news covered about Saudi Arabia is the finance, energy, and economics news. According to the BBC, Saudi Arabia has transformed from being an underdeveloped desert kingdom to become one of the wealthiest nations in the region for its vast oil resources. Saudi Arabia holds more than 25 per cent of the world's known oil reserves, and it is able to produce more than 10 million barrels per day. Edward Crook, energy editor at the *Financial Times*, argues that Saudi Arabia has been the world's biggest oil exporter for decades - a title it now shares with Russia – and that Saudi Arabia has been central to the health of the global economy.⁵³¹ According to Bloomberg, Rex Tillerson, the chairman and CEO of ExxonMobil since 2006, praised the role of Saudi Arabia as an “energy partnership” that “has been a cornerstone of the global trading system”.⁵³² Over the next two decades, according to official forecasts, the world will rely even more heavily on Saudi oil. The

⁵²⁸ Judith Kipper, 2002. “Saudi Arabia”, *Council on Foreign Relations*.

⁵²⁹ Horgan and Braddock “Rehabilitating the Terrorists?”

⁵³⁰ Hearne and Laiq, *A New Approach?*

⁵³¹ Edward Crook, “World Likely to Rely on Saudi Oil in Future”, (*Financial Times*, 02 August 2009).

⁵³² James Cordahi and Stephen Voss, “Saudi Arabia, Exxon Say Oil will last for Decades”, (*Bloomberg*, 27 September 2005).

International Energy Agency, which represents the rich oil-consuming countries, predicted in its “business as usual” scenario that by 2030 Saudi Arabia’s oil output would have roughly doubled from about 9 million barrels per day this year to about 17.5 million barrels per day. The kingdom’s share of total world oil production was forecast to rise from under 11 per cent to 15 per cent.⁵³³ Such articles as these, and others shown throughout the thesis demonstrates how much British media is concerned about the Saudi economy, and it is one of the ways that the UK can identify with part of Saudi culture.

6.3.1.3 Negative Media Coverage

In much the same way that good media coverage can reinforce the positive things about a country, negative media coverage has the opposite effect on public opinion and hence undermines cultural relations. The negative coverage of minor incidents by certain journals and/or journalists is a two-edged sword. On the one hand it encourages the British public to increase their misconceptions about Saudi Arabia, and on the other hand it makes Saudi families very reluctant to send their children to the UK for study.^{534, 535} One of the most negative media reports about Saudi Arabia is reporting of the Saudi treatment of women.^{536, 537, 538} Most of these articles ignore the fact that the education system for females and women’s rights in Saudi Arabia is actually advancing day by day, and not by any means are rights being eroded in one of the most conservative societies on the planet. They also overlook the fact that the

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Mike Baker, “How to Ride out a Media Storm”, (*the Guardian*, 25 September 2007).

⁵³⁵ “We Do Use Books That Call Jews ‘Apes’ Admits Head of Islamic School”, (*London Evening Standard*, 07 February 2007).

⁵³⁶ “Men to Decide if Women Should Drive”, (*Sky News*, 15 February 2014).

⁵³⁷ Abeer Allam, “Abused Women Battle Saudi’s Injustice”, (*Financial Times*, 14 October 2010).

⁵³⁸ Nesrine Malik, “Female Attack on Religious Police Show Shift in Saudi Values”, (*the Guardian*, 26 May 2010).

Saudi government in general, and policy makers in particular, are pushing for the increased participation of women and encouraging their role in society. However, most religious conservatives are understandably desperate to halt all Saudi government initiatives to accommodate women in society.⁵³⁹

An example here, in what seems to be an orchestrated negative media campaign, came from the case of four British Expatriates, Ronald Grant Jones, Alexander Hutton Johnston Mitchell, William James Sampson and Leslie Walker.⁵⁴⁰ The broadsheets as well as the tabloids claimed Saudi police tortured the British suspects while they were in custody to force them to confess they carried out the bombings. The entire media outlet described how detainees were subjected to a systematic regime of solitary confinement, sleep deprivation and torture. The Government officials also exacerbated the situation by making several heated statements.⁵⁴¹ The negative coverage even went further, with British diplomats and military advisers saying; “the most likely perpetrators of the blasts were anti-western Saudi supporters of Osama bin Laden, who the Saudi regime has been unable to suppress.”⁵⁴²

There are examples of news stories exaggerated by the media that incensed the Saudi authorities, and stemmed and were dominated largely by BBC coverage. For instance, the BBC claimed a Saudi-funded Islamic school uses text books contain controversial passages which allegedly brand other faiths as worthless.⁵⁴³ Subsequently, the initial report by the BBC quickly propagated in the media and

⁵³⁹ Roula Baki, 2004. “Gender-Segregated Education in Saudi Arabia: Its Impact on Social Norms and the Saudi Labor Market”, *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, vol. 12 (28).

⁵⁴⁰ Paul Kelso, et al., “How friends who liked a drink were blamed for wave of anti-western terror”, (*the Guardian*, 30 January 2002).

⁵⁴¹ Nicola Woolcock and Anton le Guardia, “Freed Bomber Tells of Torture in Saudi Jail”, (*Daily Telegraph*, 09 August 2003).

⁵⁴² “Saudi Torture Victims Seek Cash”, (*BBC News*, 17 May 2005).

⁵⁴³ “School Edits Controversial Books”, (*BBC News*, 07 February 2007).

dominated the UK tabloid and broadsheet media.⁵⁴⁴ However, the media failed to examine the issue carefully and sensibly, and a report on the BBC programme *Newsnight* did not give the Academy an opportunity to address the issues concerned the media. The King Fahad Academy Director made a series of statements saying the academy promotes “inter-culturalism and inter-faith awareness” and that the translations were “taken out of context” and had “lost some of their meaning”.⁵⁴⁵ Because of the negative coverage, parents suffered discrimination and intimidation, and a local shop put a sign saying pupils from the King Fahad Academy are not welcome.⁵⁴⁶ Undoubtedly, during that time, the BBC report increased the level of mistrust in the local communities.⁵⁴⁷

One of the most profound aspects of the negative media coverage of Saudi Arabia and the Muslim world in general in the UK, particularly since the 9/11 attacks and the London Bombings, has been the rise in Islamophobic incidents.

“‘Islamophobia’: this term has been coined by Muslim fundamentalists who use it with much success to prevent any criticism to be made of them. One should not forget that the first victims of fundamentalists are other Muslims, whether in our countries of origin or in Western countries. However, Islamophobia now increasingly refers, in the media for instance, to discriminations against migrants from Muslim countries, i.e. to xenophobia and racism, rather than referring to an attack on the religion of Islam *per se*. It is therefore an extremely perverse term (in the original meaning of *per vertere*) that one should avoid using when dealing with social and political problems.”⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁴ Alexandra Smith, “Probe Ordered of Islamic School over Textbooks”, (*the Guardian*, 08 February 2007).

⁵⁴⁵ “School Edits Controversial Books”, (*BBC News* 07 February 2007).

⁵⁴⁶ Interview with Director of King Fahad Academy, (*Newsnight*, 07 February 2007).

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁸ H  lie-Lucas, *The Struggle for Secularism in Europe and North America*.

Since that time, it is estimated that 40-60 per cent of Britain's mosques and Muslim centres, a number that totals to around 700,⁵⁴⁹ have experienced some form of violent attack or hate-related form of protest. Such feelings of hatred and racism again rose hotly in light of the May 2013 Woolwich attack, which is the term used for the killing of Lee Rigby, a British soldier who was killed in broad daylight in what was supposedly a Muslim terrorist attack meant as an act of vengeance for all the Muslim deaths caused by the British army. In the days that followed, anti-Islamic attacks in both the public and the private sector were described as increasing tenfold, with mosques being set on fire and private Muslim individuals being targeted in attacks on their homes.⁵⁵⁰

Islamophobia has always been a problem for Muslims residing in Britain. British Muslims have always been ostracised by the predominantly white British society or treated as outsiders, despite the fact that they are quite well adjusted to life in Britain. A study conducted by the University of Essex⁵⁵¹ revealed that Muslims actually identify more with the concept of "Britishness" over their white Briton counterparts; when asked to rate the importance of being British on a scale of 1-10, the surveyed Muslim Pakistani sector of the British population gave an average rating of 7.76, as compared to the white British population of survey which gave an average rating of 6.58.⁵⁵² While British Muslims do appreciate the freedom they have to practice their religion in Britain, they describe their concerns as the same as any other

⁵⁴⁹ "Islamophobia on rise in Britain as half of mosques attacked since 9/11," (*Today's Zaman*, 01 July 2013).

⁵⁵⁰ Kashmira Gander and Kevin Rawlinson, "Half of Britain's Mosques Have Been Attacked Since 9/11", (*The Independent*, 28 June 2013).

⁵⁵¹ "Ethnic minorities living in the UK feel more British than white Britons," (*Institute for Social and Economic Research*, 30 June 2012).

⁵⁵² Andrew McFadyen, "UK Muslims feel 'more British' than whites," (*Al Jazeera English*, 21 July 2012).

non-Muslim citizen.⁵⁵³ The effects of Islamophobia are a hindrance to the daily goings-on in the lives of British Muslims. Aside from being targeted and attacked in their homes, many British Muslims suffer from all sorts of abuse and harassment through other means; for example, many non-Muslim Britons have taken to the web and social media to express their hateful sentiments online, and British Muslim women have had their scarves pulled as they walk in the streets.⁵⁵⁴

The Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) is the largest umbrella organisation for Muslims in Britain, with over four hundred national, regional, and local Muslim associations and organising bodies in their scope, including mosques as affiliates. As a result of the rise of Islamophobia, the MCB was vocal in raising awareness about the issue in order to prevent more ignorance-driven hate crimes from occurring. According to the MCB, the “positive legal duty to promote equality on racial grounds should be extended to cover religion.”⁵⁵⁵ Likewise, the London Central Mosque and Islamic Cultural Centre (LCMIC) also focused on eradicating Islamophobia via the educational system. Aside from the integration of the cultural awareness of Islam into public school education, which the MCB also endorses, the LCMIC and its affiliate Muslim educational organisations pondered “over the attainment and achievement of Muslim pupils at the State Schools and the prospects and future of the Muslim Faith Schools and the Supplementary Schools.”⁵⁵⁶

In the battle against Islamophobia, the role of the LCMIC has been to champion understanding and awareness between the various Muslim and non-Muslim

⁵⁵³ Leon Moosavi, “Muslims are well-integrated in Britain – but no one seems to believe it” (*the Guardian*, 03 July 2012).

⁵⁵⁴ Judith Orr, “After attacks on mosques and schools, British Muslims say, ‘We’re stronger together’”, (*Socialist Worker*, 11 June 2013).

⁵⁵⁵ Runnymede Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia, 2003. “The Muslim Council of Britain Response to Islamophobia – Issues, Challenges and Action,” (Runnymede Trust: Stratford).

⁵⁵⁶ Mozammel Haque, “Progress of Muslim Education in the United Kingdom during 2007”, (*London Central Mosque Trust Ltd. & The Islamic Cultural Centre*, 03 August 2009).

communities of Britain. The LCMIC also centralises the efforts of the private sector and the government for this endeavour. Conferences are also held to discuss Muslim culture and ways to deal with Islamophobia on both the local community and international relations levels.⁵⁵⁷

Islamophobia continues to be an obstacle in the improvement of Saudi-British cultural relations. Ignorance and scepticism about Muslims has led to many non-Muslim Britons to lump the Muslim British citizens into a “they’re all the same” category, with no acknowledgement of individuality or variety within the religious sub-group. As such, the association of the words “Muslim,” “refugee,” “asylum seeker,” and the like has become commonplace, despite the seamless integration of Muslim Britons in society.

In 2004, a former British teacher at King Fahad Academy (KFA) in London brought to the public attention that the KFA was teaching their students to become Islamic fanatics. The school was being accused of institutional racism and the textbooks from the school were being criticised in the BBC and by other British scholars.⁵⁵⁸ As the public had taken this issue as a promotion of hatred in school, the KFA became a target of terrible publicity in all types of media. Because of the issue, the community near the school reacted by prohibiting students from the school to enter some business premises. The KFA was not the only one who suffered from scrutiny, as other Islamic schools had been shut down by the UK education authorities with the excuse that they are not following the correct procedures when it comes to school operations.⁵⁵⁹ The Muslim community had experienced discrimination and the

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ “School Edits Controversial Books” (BBC News 7 February 2007).

⁵⁵⁹ Barry Duke, “One Islamic school is closed, and another critised [sic] for failing to remove religious hate literature.” (*The Freethinker*, 27 March 2007).

KFA had tried to pacify the issue by providing explanations on the issue at hand. However, the issue had a greater effect in that it deteriorated the relationship between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom.

As the bad publicity came out the director of the KFA, Somaya Alyusuf, issued statements and gave interviews to discuss and explain how the problem came about. In an interview, although she accepted that the textbooks that were seen as promoting hatred were still in the school, she said the books were not part of the current school curriculum.⁵⁶⁰ When asked if they were going to remove the said textbooks after the issue had been publicised, the KFA director at that time did not commit to any decision as she stated that the books were still important as reference materials for their new curriculum. Alyusuf denied the allegations against their school and reiterated that the texts being cited were taken out of context.⁵⁶¹ As the issue progressed and more articles came out branding the KFA as Islamic fanatics, the school took the offensive by taking legal action against one of the UK newspapers, the *Sunday Express*.⁵⁶² The Saudi Embassy also tried to pacify the public by providing statements regarding the issue.

The KFA legal action against the *Sunday Express* paid off as they won in the UK courts and the newspaper paid an undisclosed amount, published an apology and retracted its statement that the “King Fahd Academy in London has been infiltrated by fanatics and was teaching an extreme version of Islam.”⁵⁶³ Adding to the legal action

⁵⁶⁰ “We Do Use Books That Call Jews’apes’ Admits Head Of Islamic School.” (*London Evening News*, 7 February 2007).

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² “London School Wins Sunday Express Damages over Islam Fanatics Claim”, (*Al Arabiya News*, 01 August 2012).

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

that the school had taken, the Director of the academy also issued a statement that “in the public interest” the offensive passages would be removed.⁵⁶⁴

As a result of this issue, consultations were held between the Saudi Ministry of Education and British educators which lasted for two years, and eventually decided to adopt the “International Baccalaureate Curriculum”. The KFA for its part had continuously reiterated that the Saudi school curriculum had changed. Other companies, like ARAMCO, stood by the Saudi government and made their presence felt by showing their support when the management of the company visited the school in 2005 and publicised that they were donating funds to improve the school’s facilities.⁵⁶⁵

To enhance the community relationship with the United Kingdom, the KSA intensified its cultural diplomatic activity in many ways, such as attendance at Islamic celebrations and events. In 2004, the Saudi Ambassador to the UK, Prince Turki Al-Faisal, delivered a speech during Islamic Awareness Week. In his speech he recognised Shakespeare and his happiness for taking part in such an event. The Ambassador also called “for a fruitful dialogue amongst Muslims and non-Muslims and for not allowing a small group of extremists to damage relations amongst Muslims and others in the British society.”⁵⁶⁶ The embassy became very active in patching up the relationship with the United Kingdom.

6.3.2 Cultural Relations Projects since 2000

After “Painting and Patronage” was established in 1999, exhibitions were held in 2000 and 2001 in London and Riyadh, in conjunction with HRH The Prince of Wales

⁵⁶⁴ “School Edits Controversial Books” (BBC News, 7 February 2007).

⁵⁶⁵ “Aramco supports King Fahad Academy in the UK.” (Aramco Overseas Company, 2009).

⁵⁶⁶ Ain Al-Yaqeen. “In Brief.” (Weekly Arab Magazine, 2004).

and Mr James Hart-Dyke. The exhibitions were formally visited by HM Queen Elizabeth II in London, and opened in Riyadh by the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz. The “Painting and Patronage” project also organised free summer school courses and community outreach programmes which rotated between Riyadh, Abha, Sintra and London. The courses covered subject areas such as geometry, calligraphy, drawing natural forms, textile design, stencilling, and the design and production of ceramic tiles. Among its partners were The Prince’s School of Traditional Arts in London and the *Al-Miftaha* Visual Arts Village in Abha. Scholarship programmes and a lecture series were also held between Saudi Arabian Universities and the University of London.⁵⁶⁷

In 2010, Painting and Patronage organised a cultural exchange programme between the UK and Saudi Arabia which was held under the joint presidency of Prince Khalid and Prince Charles. The programme, which continued for two years, aimed to build bridges of understanding and technical and educational exchange between the Arab world and Europe, and to strengthen cultural, artistic and educational understanding between the two countries. In a statement to the Saudi Press Agency, the chairman of Painting and Patronage, Anthony Bailey praised the excellent work carried out by both Prince Khalid and Prince Charles over many years, noting that the new programme was another example of the unique cultural and artistic partnership founded ten years before by the Prince of Wales and Prince Khalid. In the same year Prince Charles hosted, through the foundation of Painting

⁵⁶⁷ Painting & Patronage, “Who we are”.

and Patronage, an exchange programme for students from Saudi Arabia, where they spent a year in a graduate programme at the School of Traditional Arts in London.⁵⁶⁸

After the 9/11 attacks, the British Council in Saudi Arabia recognised that just teaching English was not enough to enhance the bilateral cultural relations of both nations. Therefore, it created cultural initiatives such as the “Connecting Futures” programme in 2003. This was a five-year initiative intended to build mutual understanding, learning and respect between young people of different cultural backgrounds through diverse communities in the United Kingdom and overseas. Initially, the programme involved such countries as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, Turkey, Nigeria, the Palestine Territories and the United Kingdom. The programme involved about five thousand young people aged from 15 to 24 to determine how they viewed the UK and other countries as well as their future aspirations.

One of the rationales behind this programme was to develop new types of British cultural relations with a wider audience of young people through education, arts, sports, and sciences, as well as school links and youth exchanges; networking of young professions made possible by the opportunities provided for open dialogue and debate; and finally, through widened access to information and educational services⁵⁶⁹. As a result, after the British Council in Saudi Arabia re-opened in the late 2003 the programme conducted exchange visits by young trainee teachers from both Saudi Arabia and the UK from 2004-7.

⁵⁶⁸ “President of the Painting and Patronage pays tribute to the cultural exchange between the Kingdom and Britain” (Arabic), (Saudi Press Agency, 01 April 2010).

⁵⁶⁹ James Buchan, n.d. “Middle East Public Diplomacy Working Paper: Saudi Arabia”, Foreign Policy Centre: London.

The British House of Commons has regularly addressed the issue of bilateral Anglo-Saudi relations. On every occasion since 9/11 that this has been raised it has been agreed that it is in the interest of the British government and people to strengthen relations with Saudi Arabia, particularly in the areas of defence, trade, security and counter-terrorism. However, cultural relations are never acknowledged as a key issue in the bilateral relationship like those noted above, it is the contention of this author and thesis that cultural components of the bilateral relation, in particular links in the educational sphere, are an important part of the Anglo-Saudi relationship and will only grow in importance as the two nations ties develop over this century.

CONCLUSION

In the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in the United States, the world-wide reaction, including in Saudi Arabia, was one of horror and sympathy. However, instead of building on this sympathy, the US President George W. Bush engaged in the “War on Terror”. The British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, promised to stand shoulder to shoulder with his American ally, but when it became apparent that fifteen of the nineteen terrorists were from Saudi Arabia this had an immediate impact on the Anglo-Saudi relationship. We have demonstrated that soon after the attacks, the number of Saudis travelling abroad dropped dramatically, to levels below that of the early 1980s, and despite the Saudi government constantly distancing itself from the attacks, and taking all actions it could to reiterate that it was not involved with the atrocities, in a part of the media such conclusions were cemented.

The attacks of 9/11, and the British bombings of 7/7, had a dramatic impact on cultural relations, and the efforts of the Saudi government in increasing the number of scholarships available to Saudi students to travel abroad, the funding of “soft” de-radicalisation treatments, and the formation of cultural programmes like “Painting and Patronage” were an attempt to regain lost ground. However, in the 24 hour news cycle available in the current technological age, the media has an almost instantaneous power to affect opinions and public perceptions all over the world, and this has significantly changed the way people see one another.⁵⁷⁰

The coverage of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the British media has become widespread in almost all media outlets. Broadsheets such as the *Financial*

⁵⁷⁰ Howard and Idriss, “Analysis of the Media,”

Times, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Times*, the *Independent* and the *Guardian* have covered news about the kingdom in a more balanced way over a wide range of issues.

However, the British tabloid media has been particularly critical of a broad range of subjects both in the UK and Saudi Arabia well ahead of seeking concrete evidence from Saudi authorities before publishing their stories. The media outlets, however, are not guilt-free, they have routinely downplayed the progress made by Saudi authorities in the field of counter-terrorism, education, female employment and de-radicalisation of extremists. One side of the progress that has been widely covered in a more objective way is the role of the Saudi economy and its pivotal role in the energy market.

The level of understanding between the two countries should be reflected in the media. To enhance cultural relations between the two countries, a high profile cultural exchange should be put in place. The political and economic partnership should be matched with the necessary support for cultural exchange, which is clearly lagging behind other elements of the bilateral relation. Educational staff should be encouraged to spend time in educational institutes in Saudi Arabia and the UK through comprehensive programmes. Cultural exchange can provide the two Kingdoms with significant added value and expertise. Negative media coverage will have a negative impact on the process of cultural exchange between Saudi Arabia and the UK. Short-lived negative campaigns have less impact than prolonged negative media coverage. The role of a proactive and positive response from Saudi officials is very important to avoid blurring the vision between substantiated and exaggerated stories. Some media coverage has exhibited a lack of respect and understanding towards the other community. The very few positive media stories covered alongside the negative coverage in this chapter underlines the necessity that creating a solid

cultural exchange between the two kingdoms has become a matter of critical importance. Different plans and initiatives to advance cultural exchange have been delayed and derailed for bureaucratic reasons. Beyond the bureaucratic issues surrounding this aspect, there is a need for both countries to create a wider system of co-operation through cultural exchange; otherwise, this stagnation will reinforce the preconceived notions and concepts held by some sections in both societies.

The UK is in a position to implement a long overdue cultural exchange. In fact, the British government should put plans for cultural exchange on top of its partnership with the Saudi government. Cultural exchange will familiarise and harmonise Saudi British relations in other fields. In order to succeed in political, economic and security fields, the British government would need to create a concrete plan for training and teaching Saudi youth. This will fundamentally alter the dynamics of cultural exchange and remove a major source of hatred that is feeding narrow-minded thought on both sides. Such cultural co-operation could lead to a tremendous result.

Finally, a real commitment to the development of intensive cultural programmes for Saudi students will be a critical aspect of pushing negative media coverage towards the positive. It should be known this task is a complex and multi-faceted issue, which requires a real dynamic.

The common argument made by some media, including newspapers in the UK, appear to suggest that negotiations about equality and human rights should be conducted in the British context. However, the Western media, including the British media, is devoid of any socio-cultural analysis which gives rise to demands for separation of religion from public and governmental institutions and the removal of Qur'anic verses.

For example, in the analysis of the King Fahad Academy by British Media there was a complete absence of any examination of the Islamic social and political history and law, which was based on the premise that all people of different religions should be able to live together peacefully under the authority and domain of the Islamic State.

Moreover, most non-governmental organisations mentioned in this thesis, and others, are engaged in some form of cultural relations in both countries. There is a crying need for their work to be widely circulate in the media. However, media, publishers, and researches do not give such activities sufficient visibility, and the NGOs themselves often seem to target business interests rather than cultural interests, which take a “back seat”.

The main aim of this thesis has been to chronicle Anglo-Saudi cultural relations, and to investigate how this aspect of bilateral relations has been promoted – through, for example, public diplomacy, co-operation and cultural diplomacy, the promotion of exports and investments, and promotion of educational co-operation. All of which create the conditions for paving the way for high level political and diplomatic ties.⁵⁷¹

Studying the cultural relationship of the United Kingdom and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia teaches one to learn that here we have two different cultures with compelling differences yet are still able to find common ground to help each other, complement each other, and accept each other for the differences each has in order to end up with a mutual and respectful relationship

⁵⁷¹ Marta Ryniejska – Kieldanowicz, n.d. *Cultural Diplomacy as a Form of International Communication*. (Wrocław Institute for International Studies).

Saudi Arabia may still be in the infancy stage in terms of cultural relations as a vehicle to strengthen further positive awareness about Saudi culture abroad. It can learn from the UK's long-time investment in cultural relations.

Undoubtedly, that there are tremendous differences between the two Kingdoms – geographically, ideologically and politically – as well as culturally. Nevertheless, at the governmental level, bilateral cultural relations have added value to overall bilateral ties. For example, the British have played a key role in meeting the ever increasing demand of the Saudi population in seeking better education for their younger generations. Both governments believe cultural exchanges through educational institutions are vital propagators of healthy political relations. The ongoing relationship of cultural diplomacy has also been a springboard to political and strategic understanding. The Two Kingdoms Dialogue established in 2005 under the auspices of the foreign ministries of both countries continued until 2009. This dialogue was intended to put forward recommendations on various aspects of the bilateral relationship. One example was the recommendation to improve participation of Saudi women in the civil service by providing technical and professional training. This resulted in the opening of a Women's section in the Saudi Embassy in London to deal with Saudi women's affairs in Britain.

Another important recommendations was the call for the two governments to establish a joint committee of British and Saudi experts to identify areas of co-operation for youth training programmes and to develop strategic plans for the labour market. This is vital as proper funded networks of cultural exchanges that bring together British and Saudi youth are a key to future relations.

On a more official level, the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) report of February 2011 noted that Saudi Arabia came fourth in the number of student visas

issued by British consulates in the world (after China, India and Pakistan, and before the US).⁵⁷² Indeed, the number of Saudi student visas increased from 6,000 in 2010 to 10,000 in 2012.⁵⁷³ As the story of globalisation continues to unfold, Britain continues to offer Saudis numerous opportunities for overseas education and cultural integration.

Existing cultural organisations in both countries have the experience and know-how to foster a real dialogue based on communication and understanding and to tackle the complex web of issues and problems that developing cultural ties inevitably have to deal with. One potential future development could be to borrow from proposals put forward by Cynthia Schneider in 2011 in relation to US-Saudi bilateral ties,⁵⁷⁴ and to establish a Saudi organisation linked to the Foreign ministry that has the task of leading on cultural diplomacy. Certainly, this would not be very far from the existing British Council model, as that body is partly funded by the British FCO.

However, the role and functional of such a new body should be different from both the British Council in Riyadh and Saudi Cultural Bureau in London. This new body would be mandated to bridge the gap between British culture and Saudi culture as a priority. Furthermore, this body could become to a powerful institution to serve the British and Saudi governments in a wide range of bilateral engagements.

⁵⁷² “Visa statistics by country (top ten countries/territories)”, (Institute for Public Policy Research, February 2011). For a more detailed discussion of international student immigration statistics see Sarah Mulley and Alice Sachrajda, 2011. *Student Migration in the UK*. (IPPR: London).

⁵⁷³ “International student statistics: UK higher education”, United Kingdom Council for International Student Affairs (UKCISA).

⁵⁷⁴ Cynthia P. Schneider, 2009. “The Unrealized Potential of Cultural Diplomacy: “Best Practices” and What Could Be, If Only. Best Practices for Cultural Diplomacy”, *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, (Heldref Publications) vol. 39 (4), pp. 260-279.

CHAPTER 7

ANGLO-SAUDI EDUCATION EXCHANGE

INTRODUCTION

Rapid progress in Anglo-Saudi relations has advanced mostly in the areas of development, educational exchange, defence, security and strategic relations. Of particular relevance to this thesis, as the Kingdom develops an infrastructure to deal with its citizen's demands, is the help of British technology, in addition to the policies for cultural and educational exchange that are also being put into place. These exchanges are moving gradually towards a tangible reality, to the extent that the Saudi Arabian youth are trying to remove or reduce cultural barriers, for the benefit of their own lives and their society.

Due to the expansion of commercial activities and their contribution to the Saudi Arabian economy, the development of educational exchange has increasingly stimulated bilateral networking and the evolution of interdependent relations. The economic integration of both countries has been, and continues to be, based on making an effort to combine trade in military, medicine and economics with education and training policies, and to minimise the low levels of productivity due to inadequate formal training.

The authorities in Saudi Arabia believe that after establishing comprehensive educational programmes, an increase in productivity, followed by resource

reallocation, will result in economic welfare for all its citizens. Some researchers⁵⁷⁵ have expressed their concern with regard to the benefits of national wealth in fiscal terms without real development in education and social aspects. It is therefore very important that a country like Saudi Arabia, with little history of engagement with foreign languages and cultures, develop an interest in both.

The impact of globalisation on educational and cultural exchanges began to be felt more intensely in Saudi Arabia and several other neighbouring countries in the 1990s, when the State of Kuwait was liberated from the Iraqi invasion and when English language, mainly through the CNN News Channel and military personnel stationed in the Gulf, became part of everyday culture and life.

While older generations understandably resisted this change and looked down at foreign cultures, the young have shown a degree of enthusiasm in engaging with foreigners. In the British case, this has been helped by a number of additional factors.

The first is that English is the foreign language of choice in Saudi Arabia, which puts the British at an advantage over other European countries. The second is that the political strength of long-standing bilateral relations between Saudi Arabia and Britain also influenced the decision of the Saudis to choose English as the preferred second language.

The Saudi-Arabian government, in particular, has made a concerted effort to build education-based relations with Britain, leading to a significant improvement of English language-learning capabilities. Similarly, since the end of the last century, the growing understanding between the two countries has led to a tangible improvement in the role of the British Council across Saudi Arabia.

⁵⁷⁵ Chas W. Freeman, Jr., "Saudi Arabia: The End of Progress without Change", (*Middle East Policy Council*, 11 February 2010).

This Chapter examines the changing relations between the two countries, using scholarship schemes as a method of building more cultural bridges. These scholarships are particularly interesting in the context of Saudi Arabia, where English language learning has gained importance in the youth civic culture and politics, and where new types of complex and elaborate interactions between young people from all over the world, have developed as a result of the revolution in information technology.

Both the British Council (BC) in Saudi Arabia and the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau (SCB) in London have become central actors in the promotion, coordination and running of educational and cultural campaigns between the two Kingdoms. The size of funds allocated by the Saudi Arabian authorities for such efforts in the area of English language tuition is enormous.

7. Education Sector

Undoubtedly education, and especially higher education, has the potential for further fostering a strong bilateral relationship, and both countries are keenly aware of that fact. There has been a remarkable boom in higher education in Saudi Arabia since 2005. This has come in different forms and styles and reflects an unprecedented interest in the quality of education provided in institutions of higher education.

Among the large number of initiatives in this sector is the King Abdullah Scholarship Programme for students to study abroad for undergraduate and postgraduate (MA, PhD) degrees. Over \$1 billion USD has been invested in this programme over the last decade, through a special government controlled fund that has so far fully funded 120,000 students to study abroad in programmes that range from intensive English language courses to postgraduate studies in elite institutions across the world.

7.1 Saudi and British Universities

In the last decade, as highlighted above, the Saudi Ministry of Higher Education and those responsible for education and training in the government and the country's private sector, introduced clear standards and more stringent criteria to the scholarship process. One example is the move of the Saudi Ministry of Higher Education to draw up lists of accredited universities and higher education institutions in different countries which are considered eligible to host funded students.

At the same time the government has greatly expanded opportunities in higher education in the Kingdom, through the creation of more than 10 new national universities during the last decade.⁵⁷⁶ For example, King Abdullah founded an institution dedicated to women's education at the cost of \$5 billion USD. On top of this a number of private universities⁵⁷⁷ have received licences during the same period.

Interestingly, in the context of the relationship between ties with overseas educational institutions and domestic development of the university sector, Saudi higher education has not attracted branches of foreign universities in the way that most of its GCC partners have done.

While the contribution to local education of such imported universities is still a matter of extensive debate, there is no doubt that introducing major international research institutions into the local community has had a notable impact on cultural relations between Gulf nations and the outside world,⁵⁷⁸ as have the growing links between indigenous universities in the region and foreign universities, by way of

⁵⁷⁶ "Illuminations on the Process of Higher Education in the Gulf Cooperation Council: Decisions and Achievements Report" (Arabic), (GCC, 2008).

⁵⁷⁷ Saudi Arabian Higher Education Ministry Report, (2010).

⁵⁷⁸ Vice President for Student Affairs at Qatar University, Dr Omar Mohammad AlAnsari, presented a paper at the GCC Days in London Conference, (20 October 2010): "Towards strengthening understanding between the GCC countries and Britain; the role of education in building bridges". This has remained unpublished until now and I obtained a copy of it from him personally.

strategic partnerships and co-operation agreements. These include the Universities of Edinburgh and Birmingham, with branches in the UAE, and the Universities of Glamorgan and Hull in Bahrain⁵⁷⁹

Saudi Arabia was more enthusiastic about this second type of relationship as it views co-operation in higher education as offering a number of advantages in particular in the research context.⁵⁸⁰ However, the enthusiasm voiced by Saudi higher education was not always reciprocated by the outside world, as experiences with the EU demonstrated:

“Following a 1995 EU-GCC agreement, three strands of such cooperative projects were tentatively started up: in business, in technology and in university cooperation. The latter moved ahead most swiftly-with keen interest from King Saud and King AbdulAziz Universities especially-until becoming stranded on intra-EU bureaucratic and communications problems. [...] The project was finally, and embarrassingly abandoned by the European Commission in 2000.”⁵⁸¹

On the learning and teaching front Saudi universities, like others in the region, look to benchmark their degrees by gaining academic accreditation from internationally recognised bodies, something that is vital if a degree is to help a young graduate find employment in the international labour market, and to increase the prestige of Saudi institutions and their rankings in university league tables.⁵⁸²

One of the most important objectives of the British Council is nurturing ideas and encouraging innovation, especially among young people around the world. The British Council has invested greatly to meet those objectives, as has Saudi Arabia, as evident by the establishment in 2008 of the King Abdullah University of Science and

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ Nonneman, “Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001”.

⁵⁸² Saudi Arabian Higher Education Ministry Report.

Technology. With the support of the British Council, this Saudi postgraduate only institution began working closely with leading British universities in the hard science areas.⁵⁸³

There is a real case to be made, in terms of promoting cultural developments between Saudi Arabia and Britain, for building similar relationships in the arts and humanities. Saudi universities are lacking in expertise (in both research and teaching) in the broad areas of cultural and creative studies, or European and American Studies with an arts focus. In fact, many Saudi higher education institutions do not even have standalone History, Politics or even Middle Eastern Studies departments.

The then Secretary of State for Wales, Peter Walker, visited Saudi Arabia in February 1990 as the guest of Shaikh Hisham Nazer, the Saudi Minister for Petroleum and Mineral Resources. Walker was accompanied by a team of Welsh businessmen and representatives of the University of Wales. This led to new and valuable academic links between Wales and Saudi Arabia including a formal co-operation agreements between the University of Wales and the King Saud University and King Fahd University of Petroleum and Minerals. As he indicated, “this will lead to significantly more Saudi students studying in Wales and an expansion of staff and student interchanges.” There were also reciprocal visits to Wales by the principals of the five Saudi colleges of agriculture and by a mission of Saudi businessmen.⁵⁸⁴

7.2 Studying Abroad and Student Exchange

Saudi Arabia has achieved, primarily through King Abdullah’s Foreign Scholarships, a leading global position in terms of student mobility. According to a UNESCO report on students mobility published in 2009, in absolute terms, Saudi Arabia came behind

⁵⁸³ “Illuminations on the Process of Higher Education”.

⁵⁸⁴ Peter Walker, *Saudi Arabia*. HC Debate 27 February 1990 vol. 168 cc102-3W.

the top countries for the number of scholarships, which were China (421,000) and India (153,000) and South Korea (105,300). With 70,000 students studying abroad, Saudi Arabia came ahead of Japan and the US although in terms of population, Saudi was ranked first by UNESCO in terms of the proportion of scholarships available at 0.03 per cent. With more than 163 British universities and higher education institutions recommended by the Saudi authorities, Britain was at the forefront of countries benefiting from this large scale funding of overseas scholarships.⁵⁸⁵

Although the statistics indicate that the US is the destination for the largest number of Saudi Arabian scholarship students, Britain is in second place, with the number of students reaching 16,000 in 2012. Moreover, as the Saudi ambassador to London noted in a speech to mark the graduation of Saudi students in that year, Britain has an appeal to many, not offered by other destinations, including the US. The level of education on offer is high, the language of tuition is English and, most importantly, it is much nearer to home in terms of flight time than many other potential places of study, with daily flights between London and the Kingdom.⁵⁸⁶

It is natural that the presence of Saudi students in the UK, in undergraduate and postgraduate studies, immersed in every detail of British life, has created more bridges of communication and understanding between the two nations. Of course one of the risks of this immersion is the loss of cultural and religious identity. This is certainly a concern of the Saudi authorities and parents of students studying abroad.⁵⁸⁷ Huda Alhaysi, a Professor at King Abdul Aziz University, Jeddah, explained this fear and the reasons behind it:

⁵⁸⁵ Saudi Arabian Higher Education Ministry Report.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁷ Huda Alhaysi, "The Higher Education". A speech given at the GCC Days in London Conference (18 October, 2010).

“Young children are unaware of cultural differences; because everything is so accessible and easy, they are more accepting of what is different: in their minds, the ‘foreign’ is actually ‘local.’ We understand that people from ‘elsewhere’ have different cultures and we accept that these behaviours are part of their culture. And this cultural framework which is shared by the same community helps them make sense of the world around them, interpreting and translating other people’s world views by defining their values and beliefs into a comprehensible totality, accessible only through the lenses created by the shared meanings of the applied cultural framework. Each country has its own specific expressions of cultures. They are accepted and should, in no way, be judged or compartmentalised into stereotypes that mock or belittle the reality, or, worse still, produce negative images and feelings in those who are unfamiliar with the ‘other’s world,’ thus creating acts of hatred epitomised by speech, violence or abuse.”⁵⁸⁸

Universities and other education institutions could be considered key players in advocating and promoting cultural integration. Such institutions must implement integration processes for their faculty and staff to enable them to maintain their individual cultural identity while respecting others. Students need to be trained to share and respect a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society while at the same time encouraging racial equality and fighting stereotypes.⁵⁸⁹

On the British side, student exchange programmes between British universities and other higher-education institutions in various countries, such as America, Australia, Canada, China, Japan, India, and others, have been in existence since the 1970s. Apart from attracting students and revenues from overseas, the motivations for British support of these mechanisms has been to enrich university life, to cement ties in other areas (such as politics and trade) and to expose local students to other cultures and education systems. Exchange programmes also shatter misconceptions about scientific and cultural aspects, all the while fostering in the entire student body key

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

life skills including self-expression, responsibility, personal refinement, and self-reflection.

Interestingly in this context, up to this point few British students have had the opportunity to go to Saudi universities as exchange students. Nevertheless, there have been some exceptions and modest numbers of students have travelled to Saudi with sponsorship from voluntary organisations and cultural institutions, for example, the Crossway Foundation, Edge of Arabia, and Painting & Patronage. However, officials of the Saudi Embassy and the Saudi Cultural Bureau in London have raised the idea of university exchanges that include British students going to Saudi institutions, although such ideas are in their initial stages and have not been addressed formally by the Ministry of Higher Education or the British Council.

Writing in *Higher Education Policy* in 1993,⁵⁹⁰ Britta Baron divided academic mobility into four main eras. In the first era, during the decades after World War II between 1950 and 1975, academic mobility was at its peak, since according to UNESCO statistics, the number of international students doubled each year. Such academic mobility was mainly one-way and targeted to a few core receiving countries with Britain being the main one, namely due to its links with the Commonwealth countries. A number of factors influenced such mobility, including the country's possession of institutions regarded as centres of excellence, heritage linkage between receiving and sending countries, as well as the available facilities, incentives offered to students and the links between foreign aid for developing nations and available subsidised university places.⁵⁹¹ Baron commented that international student numbers declined in the 1970s as countries ended their "open-door" policy for students and as

⁵⁹⁰ Britta Baron, 1993. "The Politics of Academic Mobility in Western Europe", *Higher Education Policy*, (International Association of Universities: Paris), vol., 6 (3), pp.50-54.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

national higher education developed globally. For example, in 1979 Britain introduced full-cost tuition fees for overseas students, which restricted extensively academic mobility into the UK. Nevertheless, such steps did not reduce the political aspect of academic mobility, which actually increased as successive governments began to introduce substantial levels of public funds for higher education exchange and research. In 1990, for instance, grant schemes focused on graduate students were provided to 25,000 overseas students, at a cost of £143 million GBP.⁵⁹²

During the second era, between 1975 and 1987, there was a strong increase in the flow of students between industrialised countries within Western Europe, but no great increase from outside the EU. The UK, for example, saw an 11 per cent increase in non-European foreign students between 1980 and 1990, compared with a 55 per cent increase in the same period of students coming from EU member states.⁵⁹³

In the third era, between 1987 and 1992, the European Commission and the British Ministry of Education initiated a Joint Study Programme (JSP), which was officially aimed at “the promotion of joint programmes of study or research between institutions in several Member states”.⁵⁹⁴ This programme advocated co-operation between the different higher education institutions in terms of consultation and advice between academics and expertise within these institutions.

JSP faced a number of challenges, such as a limited budget to support growth, but it still effectively managed to encourage students to join the scheme through offering flexibility in terms of programmes and funding methods. This was further enhanced when JSP introduced a new budget line for student grants, which provided direct support for academic mobility within the EU. Subsequently, in 1987 the JSP

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

scheme was replaced with the ERASMUS (European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students), which widely captured the public's interest and achieved an impressive success record.

ERASMUS was a political instrument which aimed to promote European identity; enhance higher educational quality within the EU and improve its global competitiveness; create a pool of resources in higher education to ensure better efficiency; strengthen educational co-operation towards further political unity within the EU members; establish equality in academic teaching between the EC members; and finally increase European competitiveness over the US and Japan.⁵⁹⁵

The fourth era began in 1992. In 1991-92 ERASMUS offered 63,000 students the opportunity to participate in 1,700 inter-University programmes. The scheme also generated and supported a variety of other programmes, such as, COMET, LINGUA, and TEMPUS, to the extent that higher education consumption was no longer confined to an individual's home country. This was affirmed in the Memorandum on Higher Education (HE) written on behalf of the European Commission and published in 1991. It reflected the confidence with which the Commission embraced its role in promoting cross-border, pan-European higher education, which had been validated by the Maastricht Treaty in 1991.

In its new role it was hoped that the European Commission would better serve its objectives by focusing more on research and postgraduate exchange, as well as widening student mobility schemes beyond the EU and EFTA (European Free Trade Association) members, towards the United States and the Eastern Asian region.⁵⁹⁶ From the Saudi perspective it does not seem that the Middle East region was included

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

in these ambitious plans, though despite this the importance of Britain as a recipient of Saudi students continued to be important.

7.3 Language

7.3.1 English

English is the second language after Arabic in the Middle East. In Saudi Arabia, proficiency in the English language is considered as one of the basic skills needed to be competitive in the labour market, especially in certain sectors such as business, banking, industry and health. As one westerner noted, “I spent two years living and working in the Gulf, yet I can speak only a handful of phrases in Arabic because the English spoken there was so good and because ambitious local families were so keen to teach their children English before they learned Arabic.”⁵⁹⁷ This prompted universities to focus attention on teaching the English language in order to ensure that graduates have appropriate English skills and are able to obtain adequate employment opportunities.

Additionally, English expanded in most Saudi universities, and has now become a formal language for education curriculums for some scientific, engineering and management programmes. The centrality of English is also evident in some government and private institutions, where scholarships are on offer for staff to study English in Britain for varying periods of time. Moreover, many Saudis have travelled to Britain to learn English on their own initiative and at their own expense. Although travel to Britain for the purpose of learning English is more expensive than staying in Saudi Arabia to learn the language, many Saudis, as well as a large number of

⁵⁹⁷ Wendy Berliner, “It’s Time for a National Debate on Language Learning”, (*the Guardian*, 28 August 2013).

companies and institutions, prefer this option because it is more useful and effective. Being immersed in the country with native English speakers has a positive impact on mastering the language and shortens the time required to gain proficiency.

This demand for the English language, combined with the poor record of English language acquisition in secondary schools, has created a profitable environment for many education institutions and centres that offer English courses, in addition to specialised courses teaching English language for hospital staff, teachers in the education sector and diplomats. When it opened in 1975, the British Council was the first of these institutes to offer this service to men. In April 1991, following the end of the Gulf War the previous month, the British Council opened its first Women's section. In addition to English language courses, it provides educational services for Saudi citizens, such as assistance in finding institutes to learn English in Britain, as well as undergraduate and postgraduate studies in Britain. The Council also supervises the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), which is considered one of the most important standardised English tests used in universities to measure levels of English language capabilities.

In terms of its cultural activities and services, it could be argued that the British Council, despite the wide experience it has in the field, has played an unpretentious role in strengthening bridges of understanding between the two nations since the 1970s. This has been made difficult at various times due to the lack of cultural openness on the Saudi side and because of the Council's apprehension in engaging in a highly sensitive and culturally difficult environment. This was seen, for example, in the fact that the Women's branch in Jeddah closed only two years after it opened in 1991, by order of senior Saudi clerics on the grounds that the British should not be teaching Saudi girls. The Women's centre in Jeddah re-opened in April 1997,

with a new branch in Riyadh launched shortly afterwards. Both centres were opened at buildings housing Saudi women's charitable organisations, *Jamaiya Al Nahdhah* in Riyadh and *Jamaiya Al Faisaliya* in Jeddah, under the umbrella of Princess Fahida Bint Saud, who was their patron.

In this alone the British Council has had a huge impact, setting a precedent in the process and in turn underscoring the centrality of the Council in promoting Anglo-Saudi cultural relations. Indeed, considering the difficulties the British Council has faced, overall it has played a prominent role in building bridges between the British and Saudis across numerous fields of endeavour and engagement. This culminated in March 2010, with the launch of the Council project "Global Xchange", run jointly with the Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) and launched in partnership with Al-Majid Society in Jeddah. By the end of the year young male volunteers from both countries participated in a volunteer work exchange. Adrian Chadwick, the British Council Director indicated at the beginning of the project, "This exchange will help build understanding between our two kingdoms, and, importantly, give young British people a chance to learn more about Saudi Arabia and share these positive impressions and experiences in their communities."⁵⁹⁸ The Global Xchange programme came to an end on 31 March 2012 when the first cycle of funding was completed and no further funding was provided by the British government.

⁵⁹⁸ Adrian Chadwick, "Editorial", (*In Touch*, British Council, spring 2010).

7.3.2 Arabic

There has been growing demand to learn Arabic in the western world over the last decade, especially in response to the September 11 attacks on the US by Al Qaeda that focused global attention on the Arab world.⁵⁹⁹ The Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS) indicated that “between 2001 and 2002 alone, the numbers applying to learn Arabic in British universities rose by 22 per cent.”⁶⁰⁰ In response to this trend, major British media outlets, led by the BBC, have been expanding and developing their Arab language provision.⁶⁰¹

In contrast, in the face of this increased demand it could be clearly seen that the available opportunities to learn Arabic in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries as a whole is very limited and insufficient to cover the growing demand for the language. There is an obvious weakness in initiatives along the lines of the work done by the British Council by all the Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia, to provide opportunities to learn the Arabic language and about Arabic culture to foreigners either at home or in other countries. This is also true for other Arab Gulf states. A report published by the University of Qatar, stated that applications received by the Arabic language programme from non-native speakers exceeded the available places to learn the Arabic language on an annual basis. This in itself has resulted in leading British institutions filling the void in providing such tuition.

⁵⁹⁹ Duncan Walker, “Speak Arabic? £100,000 could be Yours”, (*BBC News*, 26 February 2004). Accessed on 12 February 2015 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/3486480.stm>

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ See BBC News, “Arabic learning” at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/languages/other/arabic/guide> and the Guardian, “Learn Arabic” at: <http://www.theguardian.com/travel/series/learn-arabic>

7.4 International Students in the UK

7.4.1 UK Council for International Student Affairs⁶⁰²

In the 1960s, the UK began receiving large numbers of international students, and by 1963 there were 20,000 international students studying in the UK. Most of these students were granted full state support covering their fees and maintenance. Despite this, little awareness of individual international students' needs was recognised at the time. At the beginning of the 1960s, no national organisation for international students was in place, although several regional "Councils for Overseas Students" did exist and the British Council had a network of offices in the major university cities.

During the 1960s, the National Union of Students (NUS) conducted some of the first research to investigate international student life at UK higher education institutions. Soon after, in 1968, the UK Council for Overseas Student Affairs (UKCOSA) was established, mandated to serve as an independent educational charity to service overseas students and those organisations and individuals whose work was concerned with them. It also coordinated the efforts of academic and professional bodies, voluntary organisations, students' organisations, and individuals working in the field of overseas student affairs.

During the 1970s there was a rapid increase in international students (from 34,000 in 1973 to 88,000 in 1979). There was also the introduction of higher fees for international students and the launch of new immigration policies that made it more difficult for many groups of foreign students to gain entry into Britain. On the positive side, during the 1970s UK education institutions began to develop advisory and support services for those growing foreign student communities.

⁶⁰² The UK Council for International Student Affairs (UKCISA) is the UK's national advisory body serving the interests of international students and those who work with them.

During the 1980s, for political and diplomatic reasons, immigration and visa issues emerged as key considerations for some nationalities, such as Iranians and Libyans. Additionally, “full cost” overseas fees were introduced, which all resulted in a dramatic reduction in the number of overseas students coming to the UK and by 1984 numbers had dropped to 56,000 international students. However, over the same time period a network of international student advisers was established, and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Chevening Scholarship scheme was launched. Additionally, universities and colleges, as well as the British Council, commenced large scale marketing operations overseas. Andy Masheter, the director of UKCISA between 1987 and 1991, declared, that “UKCOSA in the 1980s grew up as an organisation. It became professionalised [...] collaborated with other organisations [...] to take far better care of them.”⁶⁰³

During the 1990s, the UKCOSA launched the Overseas Student Advisers Group (OSAG) and there was fierce competition between the UK, the US and Australia to attract international students. By 1997 there were 184,000 international students in Britain. The Prime Minister’s Initiative (PMI) was launched in 1999 to support and authorise the UK’s global marketing campaign. PMI, initiated by Tony Blair, the Prime Minister at that time, aimed at increasing the number of international students in both higher and further education.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, UKCOSA changed its name to the UK Council for International Student Affairs (UKCISA) in an attempt to emphasise its fundamental focus on the international student experience. This was demonstrated by

⁶⁰³ Mary Stiasny, 2008. “Mobility Matters: Forty Years of International Students, Forty Years of UKCISA”, (UKCISA: London).

the second stage of the Prime Minister's Initiative (PMI2), aimed at enhancing "the quality of the experience" for students as one of four key priorities.

During the first decade of this century, international student numbers grew to over 200,000 (in 2008, international student numbers were 417,000) with an estimated annual value approaching £4 billion GBP, as the British Council, optimistic as to future developments, published "Vision 2020" predicting further growth in demand.

However, visa and immigration issues, especially the sudden introduction of higher visa charges and the introduction of the new points-based immigration system caused continual dispute.⁶⁰⁴ In a critique of these policies, the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR)⁶⁰⁵ was very clear as to the negative consequences:

"The UK's education sector makes a valuable contribution to the economy, and to export earnings – it is estimated that international students bring up to £10 billion into the UK economy every year through fees and direct spending alone. Education institutions themselves would be badly hit by reduced international student numbers, at a time when funding is already extremely tight – the potential impacts could include job losses, some courses and departments no longer being viable, and increased costs for UK students."⁶⁰⁶

In its own report, *Global Value – The Value of UK Education and Training Exports*, the British Council also drilled down into the economic impact of overseas students in 2003-04:

"[...] the total value of education and training exports to the UK economy is a massive £28 billion, compared to those for automotive exports (£20 billion), construction exports (£7 billion), food & drink exports (£9.4 billion), Financial Services (£19 billion) and Healthcare Services exports (£14 billion). The direct value of education and training exports to the UK economy (excluding consultancy) is £12.5 billion (up from £11 billion in 2004) and the value of international students to the

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁵ IPPR, "Pursuit of Artificial Immigration Targets will Cause Real Damage to UK Universities and Colleges". (Institute for Public Policy Research, 22 February 2011).

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid. See also Mulley and Sachrajda, "Student migration in the UK".

UK economy has risen by 39%, from £6.1 billion in 2004 to £8.5 billion.”⁶⁰⁷

7.4.2 The Prime Minister’s Initiative (PMI)

The Prime Minister’s Initiative (PMI) was a programme originally launched in 1999 with the aim of increasing the number of non-EU students studying in UK education institutions to 75,000 students by the year 2005.⁶⁰⁸ Initially, the programme was established to provide the UK education sector with the fundamentals to adapt to change, triggered by the increased complexity and competition within the global education market which endangered the strong position of UK institutions.⁶⁰⁹ The Initiative was rolled-out throughout the British Council’s network of 109 countries, with a particular focus on eight designated priority one countries and fourteen priority two countries. The first stage was to raise awareness of the UK’s education and training offering through the development and launch of the Education UK brand in the UK and in priority countries overseas.⁶¹⁰ Initially Saudi Arabia was a priority two country, alongside countries such as Australia and the USA,⁶¹¹ but in 2008-9 Saudi Arabia became a priority one country alongside the UAE, China, and Russia,⁶¹²

After the success of the PMI, part two of the initiative (PMI2) was launched in April 2006. The programme was a five-year strategy to keep the UK as a leader in international education, both in the UK and abroad. Essentially, PMI2 was targeted to enhance the overall student satisfaction rating and achieve the ultimate experience of

⁶⁰⁷ “Education – the Great Invisible Export”, (British Council press release, 18 September 2007),

⁶⁰⁸ Will Archer, Tom Baynton and Jacqueline Cheng, 2011. *Measuring the Effect of the Prime Minister’s Initiative on the International Student Experience in the UK* (The International Graduate Insight Group Ltd. (i-graduate): London).

⁶⁰⁹ British Council, 2004. *Education UK: Positioning for Success*, (British Council: London).

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² British Council. *Further Education Measures One and Two, Prime Minister’s Initiative - PMI2 Connect*, (British Council: London).

their study and life within the UK as stated by Archer et al.⁶¹³ Tony Blair explained the essence of this in a speech on education:

“[...] it’s not just about getting students to choose UK universities and colleges. It’s about building sustainable partnerships between our universities and colleges and those of other countries. We want to see many more shared research projects, shared courses and joint degrees; we want to see more exchanges of students and academic staff; we want UK education to become genuinely international.”⁶¹⁴

The main aim of PMI2 was to build long-term international relationships through education and training. The programme’s key targets to be achieved by 2011 were as follows:

- Increase international (non-EU) students in UK higher education by 70,000, and 30,000 in further education
- Double the number of countries which send more than 10,000 students each year to the UK
- Improve student satisfaction ratings in the UK
- Grow and strengthen partnership relationships between the UK and other countries including Australia, Bangladesh, Brazil, Canada, China, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, USA and Vietnam.

As an indication of the success of the PMI programmes, in 2002-3 the British Council reported an increase in successful Saudi visa applications of 26 per cent, compared to a 47 per cent increase for India, and 40 per cent for China. The British

⁶¹³ Archer, et al., *Measuring the Effect of the Prime Minister’s Initiative*.

⁶¹⁴ Stiasny “Mobility Matters”. See also, Donald MacLeod, “Build Partnerships Overseas, Blair Tells Universities”, (*the Guardian*, 18 April 2006).

Council argued that new visa requirements “led to a higher quality of applications” and it highlighted the work that had been done to ensure that students were aware of the requirements for study in the UK and well prepared when they made their applications⁶¹⁵ It was also pointed out how the new regulations, in not putting off applicants, highlighted the ongoing popularity of the UK as a student destination.

7.4.2.1 Benefits

According to Tony Blair in a speech, PMI2 “[...] prepares our young people for careers in the global economy. I am passionate about raising standards in education in our country, but that means that we must be willing to learn about the best in the world. It means sharing experience and knowledge and being open to innovation and creativity from whatever direction it comes.”⁶¹⁶

Moreover, Arthur⁶¹⁷ argued that international students provide both cultural and economic benefits that not only have immediate effects, but also far-reaching positive consequences. In addition, the motive for UK institutions to participate in PMI2 was their urge to retain their wider social mission, such as; developing human resources for a competitive global market, researching and contributing to the resolving of global issues through international academic, business and government partnerships, and promoting international values through understanding cultural diversity and engaging with global issues.⁶¹⁸ It has always been widely accepted that

⁶¹⁵ British Council, *Education UK*.

⁶¹⁶ British Council, *The Prime Minister's Initiative (PMI2), Saudi Arabia*.

⁶¹⁷ Nancy Arthur, 2004. *Counseling International Students: Clients from Around the World*. (Springer: New York), p. 5.

⁶¹⁸ Felix Maringe and Nick Foskett, eds., *Globalization and Internationalization in Higher Education: Theoretical, Strategic and Management Perspectives*. (Continuum: London), p. 38.

upon finishing their studies, international students serve as powerful ambassadors to promote further student exchange as well as project partnerships.

Specifically, the British Council listed a number of potential benefits for home institutions that PMI2 offered. These included adding an international dimension, enhancing learning opportunities for students and staff, providing opportunities for professional development, student exchange opportunities contributing towards international development and skills, strengthening relationships with local and international organisations and identifying and developing future business/partnership opportunities.⁶¹⁹

In assessing its achievements and results in line with its initial objectives and aims, Archer et al., examined the International Student Experience in the UK by way of a survey aimed at all levels of study across participating universities in the UK. Their main overall finding between the years 2007 and 2010 was summarised by the figure below.⁶²⁰

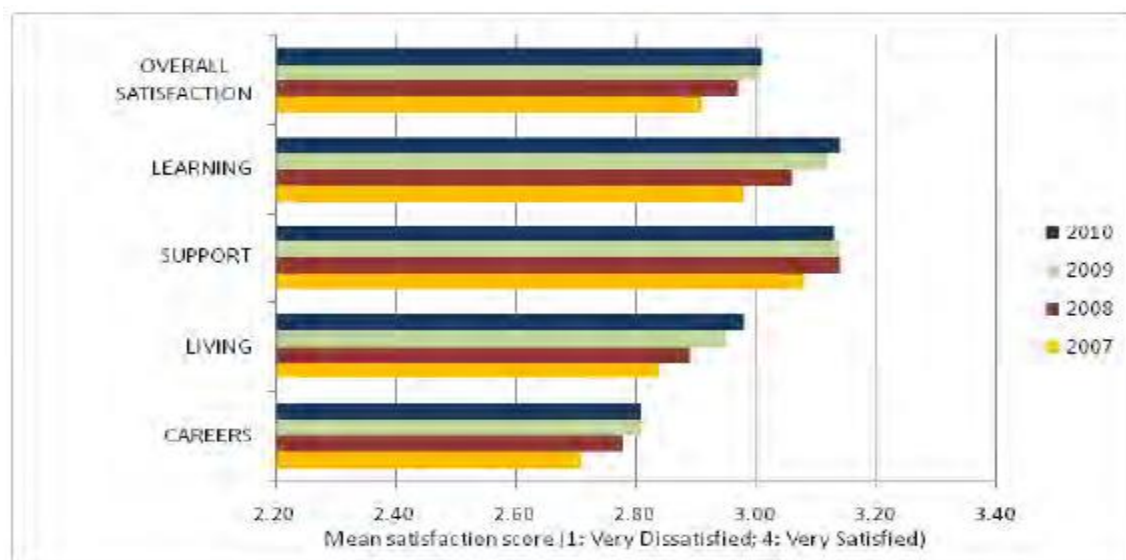


Figure 30: Mean Satisfaction Score (2007–10).

⁶¹⁹ British Council, *The Prime Minister's Initiative*.

⁶²⁰ Archer, et al., *Measuring the Effect of the Prime Minister's Initiative*.

The figure shows the overall mean satisfaction score for PMI index, which reflected a significant increase in the learning and living experience, which according to Archer remained high at 81 per cent.⁶²¹

A Final Evaluation Report was produced in 2011 based on a vast number of primary and secondary research; including surveys with institutions and students, regular meetings, and consultations with key stakeholders and project managers.⁶²²

The report showed the initiative enhanced the UK's reputation as an international education provider. According to the report, most key processes and systems met the initial programme objectives. These included:

- Reaching and engaging a wide range of students, institutions, lecturers, and researchers, professional and practitioners and various providers;
- Providing 24/7 information on UK education sector globally;
- Put in place the foundations for long-term collaborations and better understanding of education systems;
- Encourage and facilitate mobility of students and lecturers;
- Enable new ideas and concepts to be trailed;
- Support policy dialogue meetings to be held with a wide range of delegates participating;
- Engage support at high Government level i.e. ministerial engagements between countries.”⁶²³

A part of the PMI2 projects, known as the HE Partnerships Projects, was able to increase the number of partnerships as well as reinforce existing ones. Most crucially, PMI2 activities demonstrated an influence on securing and improving the UK position as a leading international educational provider. This was evident in the student survey that revealed that students experienced high levels of satisfaction with the reputation and quality of courses provided by the UK education system, and believed that employment and earning prospects would be enhanced from their time

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² British Council, 2011. *Prime Minister's Initiative for International Education Phase 2 (PMI2)*, (British Council: London).

⁶²³ Ibid.

in the British system. Additionally, the survey found that employability and the opportunity to complement their study with work experience was a key motivation for international students. However, the visa and immigration-related issues revealed a negative impact. As the Final Evaluation Report (2011) put it these were “[...] affected negatively by Cameron’s decision to cancel the 2 year working visa for graduated International students.”⁶²⁴

From another perspective, the survey also reported the benefits related to institutions participating in the project. According to the survey, the PMI2 Programme influenced the strategic behaviour and internal culture of participating institutions towards international students such as focusing on partnerships rather than simply student recruitment. PMI2 funding also encouraged a culture of institutional sharing, which promoted communication and best practice, which reflected positively on students.⁶²⁵

Finally, this initiative was in line with King Abdullah’s initiative for Scholarships that effectively contributed to increasing the number of Saudi students in British universities from around 3,000 students in 2003, to 7,000 students in 2006, to almost 16,000 students with their families, which would be a total of around 26,000 Saudis in 2012. This initiative also opened the way for the British Council to expand the field of co-operation with different Saudi institutions, especially in education, as well as to attract British co-operation in the form of major companies such as BAE.

Interestingly, the contribution of British universities, with the British Council in the lead, served to increase awareness amongst Saudis of British Higher Education through the university exhibitions held approximately every two years in Jeddah and

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

Riyadh. This is what can be inferred through periodic bulletins issued by the main branch of the British Council in Riyadh. Furthermore, this initiative also clearly displayed educational dealings between the Saudi Ministry of Higher Education and British universities. It contributed effectively to contract deals for scientific exchanges between a number of Saudi and British universities, such as King Saud University with the Universities of Edinburgh and Cambridge in 2007.

7.5 The Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau and the British Council

The British Council and Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau are cultural institutes in the service of the state. However, there are a number of differences in terms of their roles and purpose. The British Council is a non-governmental organisation although it receives an annual grant in aid from the British government and has offices in 109 countries around the world, whereas the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau is a government institute that is directed by the Saudi Higher Education Ministry and sometimes by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with offices in each developed country where there are Saudi students.

The British Council's purpose is to promote British culture around the world and to facilitate cultural exchanges, whereas the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau was founded initially for the supervision of Saudi students studying abroad.

7.5.1 Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau in London ⁶²⁶

Since 1964, the Saudi Arabian Educational and Cultural Bureau, formally known as the Saudi Arabian Education Mission, has supported the educational and cultural links between the UK and Saudi Arabia. Ultimately, this yielded benefits for UK citizens as a result of the annual sum of more than £75 million GBP that went into the British economy. Simultaneously, such links also brought substantial benefits to Saudi Arabian citizens, who were able to access the British higher education institutions.

In London, the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau has undergone almost continuous change due to the growing number of students and roles it performs in the UK. For example, in 1967 a section within the Chancery of the Royal Embassy was closed and assigned to the Educational Attaché and its growing staff's needs. Within five years, the premises of the Chancery became inadequate to accommodate the increased number of personnel required to meet the demands and serve the needs of the rapidly growing numbers of Saudi students and trainees, as well as managing the Bureau's evolving responsibilities.

This required the Bureau to re-locate in 1970, and by 2008, according to a report by the Saudi Embassy,⁶²⁷ the number of employees had increased to 17 Saudi diplomats and 84, mostly British, employees.

7.5.1.1 Responsibilities of the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau in the United Kingdom

The Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau aims to provide Saudi students with prime educational opportunities at highly recognised educational institutions in the UK. Essentially, the bureau provides academic and financial support to Saudi students and

⁶²⁶ Saudi Arabia Cultural Bureau, 2008. *Official Financial Report*. (The Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia; London).

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

trainees, allowing them to focus on achieving their academic goals. Additionally, the bureau assists in presenting Saudi culture, traditions, and heritage by actively participating in academic, cultural, and social activities. It also connects education institutions in the UK and Saudi Arabia, in terms of issues relating to culture, education, research and science.

The Bureau is an integrated part of the Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia in the City of London. Nevertheless, in its responsibilities relating to administration, finance and student affairs, the Bureau follows the instructions of the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Higher Education. The responsibilities of the Bureau⁶²⁸ are derived from its integration into the Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia. Fundamentally, the Bureau aims to represent the Government of Saudi Arabia, the Ministry of Higher Education and all Saudi Arabian sponsoring agencies, universities and ministries, in relation to the education and training of all Saudi students and trainees in the UK.

Additionally, the Bureau works to initiate, develop and manage education, training and cultural programmes between both countries, such as arranging the visits of presidents, deans and professors and other education sector leaders as well as organising meetings, lectures and conferences between both Saudi Arabian and UK institutions. The Bureau is also responsible for negotiating and signing all education and training agreements with British Universities and Technical Colleges, and ensuring the implementation and monitoring of these agreements. Moreover, the Bureau's mission is to manage the educational, cultural and social affairs of Saudi students and trainees in the UK, and provide required assistance financially, academically and socially, as well as coordinating between Saudi students, trainees and their sponsoring agencies.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

7.5.1.2 Academic Affairs Section in the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau⁶²⁹

Academic Affairs has two main divisions, one for medical training and one for non-medical students. Moreover, it is responsible for supporting Saudi physicians and students throughout their education in all areas – personal as well as professional. It is also mandated to supervise and monitor the students' progress during their placement in UK institutions and to deliver reports to the respective Saudi Arabian sponsoring agencies through the Cultural Attaché.

7.5.1.3 Accomplishments of the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau and Benefits to the UK⁶³⁰

The Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia in London has declared that the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau has had a substantial impact on the growth and improvement of the educational, cultural and scientific relations between the UK and Saudi Arabia. The Embassy also considers the performance of the Bureau to directly benefit citizens in the following areas:

(a) Economic Benefits⁶³¹

- During the last 14 years, the Bureau directly spent £384 million GBP on students and trainees in the UK. These expenditures can be divided into four main categories:
 - I. Tuition fees charged by universities and other educational institutions;
 - II. Expenses relating to students and trainees such as cost of living accommodation, food, clothing, items for the course, travel and health expenses;

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ Ibid.

- III. Research allowance costs related to graduate student training and field work;
 - IV. Office expenses including rent, office equipment, insurance, and maintenance.
- Additional expenditures related to the mutual education partnerships established by the Bureau and the UK include:
 - I. Purchasing scientific equipment from the UK by many Saudi bodies such as universities, hospitals, laboratories, research centres, public and private organisations;
 - II. Recruiting British scholars and experts to work at Saudi universities and other education institutions across Saudi Arabia;
 - III. Participating and supporting grants from the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Higher Education to research projects and scientific studies undertaken by UK universities.

(b) The Saudi Arabian Postgraduate Medical Training Programme in the UK⁶³²

This Programme has accomplished three significant objectives:

- Saudi physicians are trained in specialist medical programmes in the UK and return to Saudi Arabia upon completion of their training as certified medical specialists in their field;
- Direct financial benefits offered to the economy of the UK from the funds supplied by this programme, in addition to the provision of clinical services provided by Saudi doctors to UK hospitals, amount to a direct financial benefit of approximately £80 million GBP each year, in addition to compensating the current shortage of qualified physicians in the UK.

⁶³² Ibid.

- In 2008 around 400 Saudi physician/trainees who were fully sponsored by the Bureau were designated as Medical Residents and Fellows in teaching hospitals throughout the UK. This was one of the largest national groups of foreign medical trainees in the UK;
- The sponsorship also covers expenses such as wages, annual tuition fees and living expenses including insurance, books, healthcare, dental and daily expenses. Such expenditure is estimated at an average of a minimum of £60,000 GBP for a single trainee and £100,000 GBP for married trainees annually.
- More importantly, in the UK, a full licence is provided for Saudi medical trainees by the local medical licensing authorities. These trainees are fully qualified doctors who perform a variety of operations and clinical services, at no cost to the UK taxpayer;
- All Saudi trainees move back to Saudi Arabia after the completion of their training to join the Saudi Health Care System. Since 1964, the Bureau has provided a vast number of training opportunities and certification for Saudi Arabian doctors in the UK, who then return to Saudi Arabia to acquire leading positions in major Saudi health service institutions;
- The Embassy of KSA has not reported any incidents relating to Saudi Medical Residents attempting to illegally remain in the UK upon completion of their training;
- To fulfil the growing need for highly qualified Saudi medical specialists to implement standard health care requirements in the Kingdom, the Saudi Arabian Postgraduate Medical Training Programme in the UK is anticipated to grow systematically.

(c) University and College Education Programmes⁶³³

Since its launch the Bureau has been in charge of a growing number of Saudi non-medical academic (E.S.L., Graduate degrees, Masters, and Doctoral qualifications) students enrolling at UK universities and education institutions as international students. In 2007, there were an estimated 7,000 non-medical students. Almost all of the Saudis who graduate, return to the Kingdom qualified in a variety of fields, including engineering, sciences, computer science, law and business. Furthermore, since the Bureau was established, it has organised and hosted several scientific conferences and symposia in London and Riyadh, as well as hosting UK university visits to Saudi Arabia by numerous delegations.

Recently, Saudi Arabian students and their sponsoring agencies recognised the education provided by UK universities and colleges as their favourite choice globally to obtain a higher education. The King Abdullah Scholarship Programme annually provides scholarships in the UK to around 2,000 selected Saudi students, to undertake doctoral and post-doctoral degrees. The increasing trend in Saudi international students seeking to enter UK universities and colleges continues to accelerate and is expected to continue for many years into the future.

⁶³³ Ibid.

7.5.2 The British Council in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

The British Council has over 75 years experience of practicing international cultural relations. It always described itself⁶³⁴ as an organisation bringing international opportunities for the people of the UK and other countries to life every day and building trust between them worldwide. In the process, they are in many ways, guardians of some of Britain's most attractive assets; the English language, the Arts, education and the British ways of living and organising society, etc.⁶³⁵ Interestingly, research has shown, that in 80 countries more people were aware of the British Council than the local British embassy.⁶³⁶ In Britain, the British Council is far less well known outside "academic circles". This is inherently due to the strategy adopted by the Council over the years in response to an "anti-Council" campaign by the Beaverbrook Press in the post-war years fuelled by the Beaverbrooks' anger due to being passed over as the Council Director General.

The British Council's conduct in Germany is an excellent example of how the work of the Council impacts on local communities. "One of the Council's staff at its headquarters in Cologne" admired the eagerness, enthusiasm and respect the Germans have for the British. The Council's staff was surprised by the fact that the "whole" families of German students who were studying at the British Council "would visit Britain on a holiday" and spend the summer learning the English language, not just because it is an international language, but because it is spoken in the UK. What was acknowledged, particularly among younger Germans, was the feeling that their country and Britain are both "moving towards each other", the Council staff noted.

⁶³⁴ British Council, "British Council Research Shows 2012's Strong Overseas Impact for the UK", (British Council press release, 18 December 2012).

⁶³⁵ Abdul Hannan Tago, "Best of Britain on show in Riyadh", (*Arab News*, 08 March 2013).

⁶³⁶ John Fairhall, Jun 4, 1975. *The Semantic Alliance*. The Guardian. The Guardian. P9

Additionally, the Council's staff member commented that the German attitude towards Britain was that the 'UK was rather nice' where Germans recognise English-German cultural relations as a constant factor of in the uncertainties of the EEC position.⁶³⁷

The British Council always publishes their earnings. Approximately 75 per cent of the British Council's annual turnover of £739 million GBP is from services, which customers pay for, including education and development contracts that it bids for, and from partnerships. A UK Government grant provides the remaining 25 per cent. As stated in 2012, they match every £1 GBP of core public funding with over £3 GBP earned in pursuit of their charitable purposes.⁶³⁸

7.5.2.1 Some British Council Activities in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

In the spring and summer of 1999, the British Council surveyed perceptions of the United Kingdom in several countries, including Saudi Arabia, and produced a report entitled *Through Other Eyes: How the World sees the United Kingdom*. According to this study, 81 per cent of Saudis sampled believed that the United Kingdom valued its relationship with Saudi Arabia.⁶³⁹ The British Council and the British Embassy in Riyadh, work hard to foster this perception. An article on the embassy website is clear that;⁶⁴⁰

“The UK through the British Council is partnering with Saudi Arabia on a broad range of education-related activity. This includes advice on English language teaching, school

⁶³⁷ Fairhall, “The Semantic Alliance”, p. 9.

⁶³⁸ British Council, “British Council Research”.

⁶³⁹ Robert Ratcliffe with Jonathan Griffin, 1999. “Through Other Eyes: How the World sees the United Kingdom” (British Council: London). The survey was conducted by MORI in Saudi Arabia, amongst 400 Saudis aged 20-40, with quotas for sex, education qualifications, work status and income. See also, “Achieving the UK's Objectives in the Bilateral Context”, (Select Committee on Foreign Affairs).

⁶⁴⁰ British Embassy in Saudi Arabia, “UK Saudi Relations”, (*British Foreign and Commonwealth Office*, 31 May 2010).

leadership, institutional partnerships and qualifications and accreditation.”

This has also resulted in a shift, in terms of how and in what ways, Saudi students are examined. A British Council report from 2010 noted that the “the number of exams undertaken with the British Council has risen from 25,000 four years ago to 50,000 [in 2010]. [...] The area of greatest growth has been the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) which is the English language requirement for access to English medium university courses across the globe.”⁶⁴¹

The British Council runs a Skills for Employability project and is also engaged with different employees training in the Kingdom under the Technical and Vocational Training Corporation (TVTC) agreement, which the British Council facilitated by signing scholarship agreements with 11 British universities. In 2010, Prince Andrew met Saudi students at the British Council men’s centre in Riyadh in a special English class where the students were part of the TVTC agreement.⁶⁴² According to this agreement, the scholarship programmes were to run for four years, beginning in September 2010. Students were “expected to complete three years of study in the UK to be awarded degrees in different applied specialisations.” This was also the first time that women would have an opportunity “to do an applied degree in the UK through TVTC. “

BAE Systems Saudi Arabia (British Aerospace) has run a Post-Doctoral Summer Research (PDSR) Programme in Saudi Arabia since 1991. It is an academic research collaboration programme developed by the British Council which enables Saudi academics to work alongside their British counterparts. The programme also

⁶⁴¹ British Council, “Building Cultural Relations Creating Educational Opportunities”, (*In Touch*, summer 2010).

⁶⁴² Ibid.

increases their insight into the range and quality of British Higher Education. Over 426 Saudi researchers have conducted research secondments in Britain under the programme over 20 years.⁶⁴³

One aspect of education exchange the British Council has been actively involved in is to encourage Saudis to apply for scholarships to study in the UK. When inviting Saudi students to apply for the Chevening Scholarship, sponsored by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Peter Grout, the former Deputy Director of the Council in the Kingdom, was keen to stress that “These scholarships [...] are intended for graduate professionals of outstanding ability. They will give the opportunity for further study or training in any subject at British universities or other accredited training institutions and in an area of importance to relations between Britain and Saudi Arabia.”⁶⁴⁴

The British Council *Trust Pays* Report ⁶⁴⁵

In addition to its core remit, the British Council also contributes to research and studies about the opinions of foreigners to British society, Higher Education, and cultural relations, published for the public on the Web sites. It is the opinion of the author of this research role could be one of the most important tasks performed by the Council in order to clarify concepts and data related to their work and structure activities to achieve their goals.

⁶⁴³ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁴ Saeed Al Khotani, “British Council invites Saudis to apply for 2002/03 scholarships”, (*Arab News*, 13 May 2001).

⁶⁴⁵ British Council, 2012. Trust Pay Report. How international cultural relationships build trust in the UK and underpin the success of the UK economy. <http://www.britishcouncil.org/trustresearch2012.pdf>. www.britishcouncil.org. Available also at: <http://www.ipsos-mori.com/Assets/Docs/Polls/british-council-tables-2012.pdf>

One of these studies relates to *Trust Pays*, a survey “commissioned to measure the levels of trust towards the UK among [...] young adults [...] educated to at least secondary level, in 10 countries of strategic importance to the UK’s future.”⁶⁴⁶ This report attempted to understand the role of international cultural relationships in building trust in the UK and how this influenced business and trade with the UK based on the principle that trust is a key aspect that underpins better economic growth and success. The research was divided into two stages; the first stage was carried out by YouGov in 2010, whereas Ipsos Mori undertook the second stage in 2011. Collectively, the research covered ten countries “which are important to the UK’s future prosperity, security and wider strategic interests.” The countries covered were “the BRIC countries – Brazil, Russia, India, China; two European democracies – Spain and Poland; a significant player in South East Asia, Thailand; along with three predominantly Muslim countries of global significance Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Turkey.” All of them were chosen as key trading partners of the UK as well as economic competitors of Britain.

The participants were selected to take into account a number of factors, such as the traditional connections to the UK and issues of importance to the UK on economic, security and strategic levels. The Saudi online sample covered 520 young people aged 16/18-34 who were educated to at least secondary level, active online, and living in major urban areas. The reason for selecting this sample was justified on the following grounds:

“these young people are not necessarily representative of their entire country populations but they do reflect their respective societies’ ‘future influencers’ and ‘young people with potential.’ They are also the key group within their societies

⁶⁴⁶ British Council, “UK more trusted than the US where it matters” British Council, 22 May 2012).

who will drive long-term international and business engagement.”

The study investigated “respondents’ willingness to engage with the UK in relation to business, tourism, education and arts.” The results were analysed by the level of trust expressed in people of the UK. The study mainly focused on benchmarking trust towards UK people in comparison with key contenders in the market; the US and Germany. The results highlighted the high trust in UK people compared with international competitors.

Figure 31 shows the results of the *Trust Pays* study for the 10 countries analysed and compared the results to Germany and the US. The y-axis shows the level of trust, expressed as a percentage and overall the UK enjoyed a positive level of trust in most of the countries examined, certainly better than the US in all countries aside from Thailand, where there seemed to be little difference.

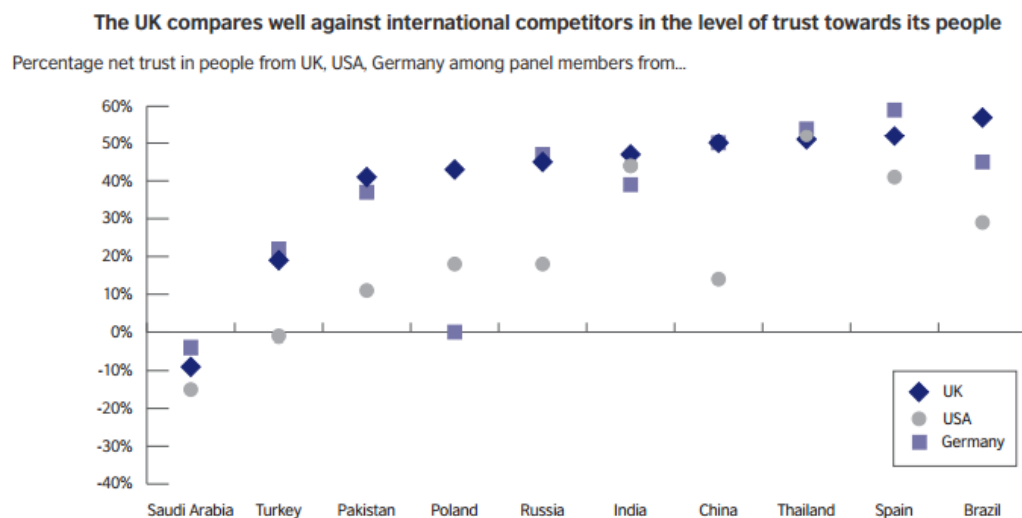


Figure 22: The UK Compares well against International Competitors in the level of Trust towards its People.

The one exception to the positive level of trust was from Saudi Arabia, which among all the Muslim countries examined consistently gave negative levels of trust of around -10 per cent, although a later part of the study showed that British people were trusted more than the government. The study concluded that the UK enjoyed higher levels of trust from the other Muslim countries examined because of long-standing trade links and the links through the Commonwealth. The low levels of trust shown by the young people of Saudi Arabia were reinforced by other studies, where

“its conclusions [were] somewhat supported by [other] sources, such as the Arab Youth Survey 2013. [...] This poll surveyed young people from 16 Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia, and found a favourable rating for the UK of only 32%, lower than that of France (44%) and Germany (39%), and just above the US (30%). The Arab Youth survey cautiously attributes this to a decline in favourability toward ‘traditional regional powers’ such as the UK and US.”⁶⁴⁷

Hence it may be concluded that although the British Council is making strenuous efforts to improve the standing of the UK in Saudi Arabia, among some young people, who are increasingly influenced by what they see in a rapidly-changing news cycle and on social media, the UK – which is often seen as “shoulder to shoulder” with the US since the 9/11 attacks – does not receive the level of trust that it would like. Such a result would not be enhanced by the unfriendly reporting of some newspapers and other parts of the British media, as we showed in chapter 6.

However, British public opinion of Saudi Arabia appears to be similarly poor. In 2012, the Hard Choices Ahead report from Chatham house showed that only two per cent of 2,000 people surveyed picked Saudi Arabia as a country to which they

⁶⁴⁷ “Bilateral Relations with Saudi Arabia”, (Foreign Affairs Committee).

were especially favourable,⁶⁴⁸ and a Pew Research survey in the US found that the British public expressed

“similarly negative views of Saudi Arabia [...] with regard to their perception of the Saudi government's respect for human rights. When British participants were asked if they thought that the government of Saudi Arabia respects the personal freedoms of its people, 69% said no, and only 12% said yes.”⁶⁴⁹

However, the low levels of trust found in the *Trust Pays* survey were more complex than a simple analysis suggest. Where young people from Saudi appeared to be in the lowest position among the 10 countries examined, when the researchers differentiated between “those who had been involved in some form of international activity with the UK and those who hadn’t” there was a clear 14 per cent difference in levels of trust, which that could suggest a lack of knowledge between the people of both countries was a more significant factor when looking at trust. Although there have been few diplomatic tensions between Saudi Arabia and the UK in the last 4 decades since 1973, this might suggest that the actions of the two governments and their peoples’ level of trust are not always aligned.⁶⁵⁰

Additionally, the study emphasised the relationship between trust and cultural relations. The aim was mainly to understand how trust affected individuals to potentially visit the UK as a tourist, or who might like to live in the UK and bring up a family, study in the UK, develop their own business links and contacts with UK citizens, and enjoy artistic, creative and cultural activities. Essentially, the research studied these issues taking into account the level of trust among people, family ties in

⁶⁴⁸ Jonathan Knight, Robin Niblett and Thomas Raines, 2012. *Hard Choices Ahead: British Attitudes towards the UK's International Priorities* (Chatham House: London).

⁶⁴⁹ “Bilateral Relations with Saudi Arabia”, (Foreign Affairs Committee).

⁶⁵⁰ British Council, 2012. *Trust Pays*, (British Council: London).

the UK, level of English language and cultural experience with the UK. Using statistical modelling, the survey calculated the ‘Odds Ratio’ and identified eight factors that would effect to what degree people would be “trusted” (Figure 32). The results echoed that of the 14 per cent difference in levels of trust found in Saudi Arabia and concluded that for the 10 countries, “somebody who has been involved in cultural relations activities with the UK is 23 per cent more likely to trust people from the UK than somebody who has not.”⁶⁵¹

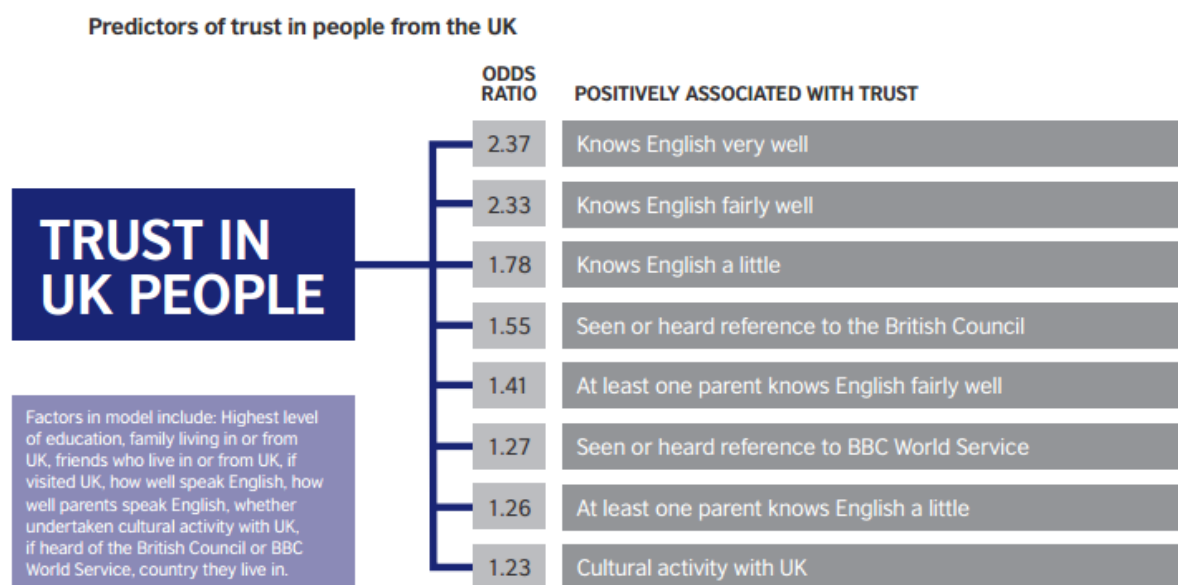


Figure 23: Predictors of Trust in People from the UK.

Furthermore, “a young person who is aware of the British Council – and for many that will be via participation in a British Council programme – is more likely to trust people from the UK than one who is not aware. And this uplift in trust comes in addition to the basic uplift through participation in any UK oriented cultural relations programme.”⁶⁵² The results confirm the influential role that the British Council plays in increasing trust in the UK and its citizens. The *Trust Pays* study supported many British Council case studies and programme evaluations and concluded that;

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

⁶⁵² Ibid.

“cultural relations is an effective tool to increase trust between individuals internationally. It does so by helping young people learn English, build friendships and contacts with people from the UK and by giving them direct experience of contemporary life in the UK.”⁶⁵³

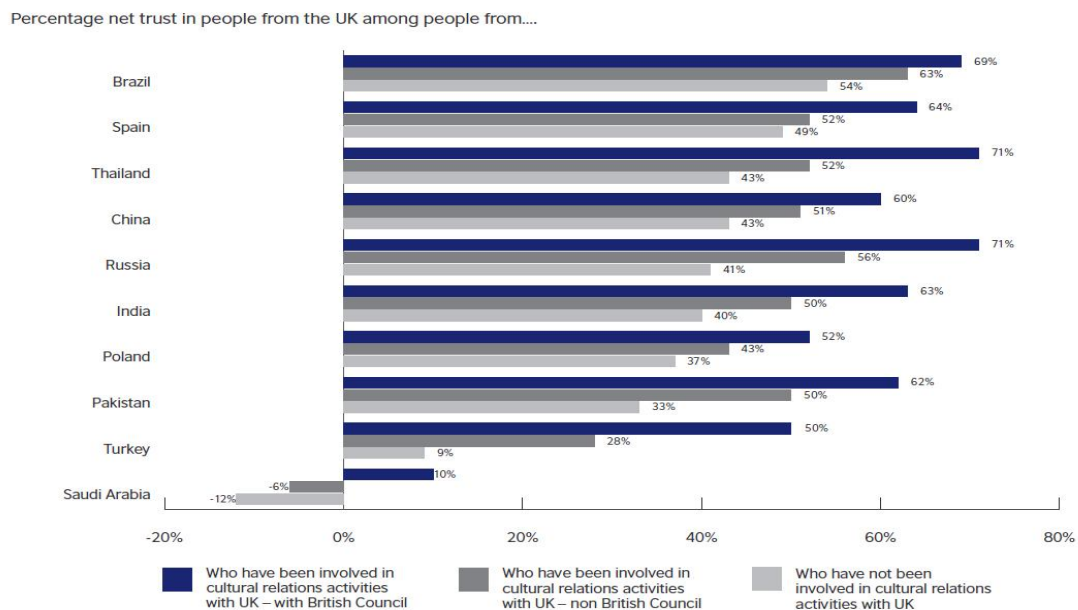


Figure 33: Percentage net trust in people from the UK among people from 10 Countries

When the *Trust Pays* study looked at the influence of the work of the British Council over non-British Council cultural activities in the 10 countries, there were consistently high levels of trust associated with the work of the British Council compared with non-British Council activities, or no experience of cultural relations at all (Figure 33). The results are very interesting, particularly in terms of the Saudi response where “Saudi nationals who have been involved in ‘cultural relations activities’ with the British Council have positive levels of ‘net trust’ in people from the UK, unlike those who have had no contact with the UK, who have overall negative net levels of trust.”⁶⁵⁴ As the report noted:

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴ “Bilateral Relations with Saudi Arabia”, (Foreign Affairs Committee).

“Even in the lowest trust environment of the ten countries measured – Saudi Arabia – there is a difference [...] between those who have and those who have not been involved in cultural relations with the UK. Indeed, involvement in cultural relations among Saudi Arabian participants was associated with a shift from a ‘net negative’ to a ‘net positive’ position of trust towards people from the UK.”⁶⁵⁵

One of the positive outcomes for this report was that the work of the British Council was held in much greater esteem than the work of other UK organisations providing cultural activities in Saudi Arabia. As the results clearly show, even though some Saudis may have had cultural relations with British people and businesses, the support of the British Council provides the expertise to make such relations a more fulfilling experience and increase levels of trust.

Building on the work of the *Trust Pays* report, the *Culture Means Business* report formed the second part of the analysis and looked at “the relationship between involvement in cultural activities, levels of trust and interest in business and trade with the UK.” Part of this report looked at the study opportunities in the UK, US, France and Germany and when asked to recommend countries to study, “the UK is the most commonly recommended of the four destinations in all countries other than Saudi Arabia, where it is on a par with the US.”⁶⁵⁶ The conclusion here is that for Saudis there is little difference to choose from between US universities and their UK counterparts and that students would sooner choose a UK or US university, where the common language is English, than study in Europe, again perhaps because of the language difficulties. In the Foreword to the *Trust Pays* report, Sir Roger Carr, the Chairman of Centrica and President of the CBI (The Confederation of British Industry), concluded that;

⁶⁵⁵ British Council, *Trust Pays*.

⁶⁵⁶ British Council, 2013. *Culture Means Business*, (British Council: London).

“[the] relationship between trust and an increased openness to the UK and its people holds true, not just in Europe and in the Commonwealth, but also in many of the countries where we do not have such a strong traditional relationship and which will be vital to the UK’s future. In [...] places important to our security or strategic interests such as Pakistan or Saudi Arabia, this relationship between cultural relations and increased trust is strong.”⁶⁵⁷

The significant difference between the positive levels of trust enjoyed by the UK for nine of the 10 countries examined in the report, and the negative levels of trust in the young people from Saudi Arabia is clearly a subject that concerns the British government, who commented:

“Evidence of negative perceptions of the UK among young Saudis is deeply concerning, particularly in a state in which over 60% of the population is under 30 years old. It is difficult with so little evidence to draw conclusions as to the reason for the low level of trust in the UK.”⁶⁵⁸

One reason for the low levels of trust may well have been explored by the *Trust Pays* report and by the activities of the British Council, and that is knowledge and experience of working with the UK and its citizens. Clearly the report established that where there is no cultural exchange, and information about another nation or people is obtained purely by second-hand means; through the media, social media or negative comments from one’s peers, then that information may be prejudiced or inaccurate and lead to a negative impression or level of trust. The same holds true for UK citizens with a negative impression of Saudi Arabia. Yet when people have practical experience of working or studying with another country then their existing perceptions are challenged, and as the report shows levels of trust are greatly increased.

⁶⁵⁷ British Council, *Trust Pays*.

⁶⁵⁸ “Bilateral Relations with Saudi Arabia”, (Foreign Affairs Committee).

So it is important, I feel, that much more emphasis and effort is made by the British government and the British Council, and in turn by the Saudi government and the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau, to invest more in cultural exchange and cultural diplomacy. In the long term, such cultural exchange can only benefit the public relations and improve the diplomatic relations between the two nations.

CONCLUSION

Although economics, trade and investment are always cited as positive examples of relations between Saudi Arabia and Britain, it is the contention of this final chapter that education and cultural exchange are also significant factors in promoting bilateral ties. As shown above, education could play an essential and pivotal role in creating bridges of contact and understanding between the British and Saudi people.

In comments on International education, Martin Davidson, former CEO of the British Council, summarised the value of education exchange when he wrote:

“[F]or the UK, international education is not merely an export industry. It enriches our society in many ways by deepening our awareness and understanding of other cultures, and likewise deepening others’ awareness and understanding of our own. The presence of international students helps to ensure that a greater diversity of programmes is available for home students; they provide a driver to maintain high quality course provision as UK universities compete in an increasingly competitive market to attract them; they enrich the diversity of campuses and communities and help to broaden the outlook and understanding of UK students as they prepare to join a global workplace.”⁶⁵⁹

This concept is central to the work of organisations like the British Council and the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau, and should be at the forefront of all cultural and diplomatic policy decisions. Students engaged in everyday life are immersed in British culture while they are in the UK, and on their return they not only take with them increased knowledge through education, but they also take an increased awareness of another culture. Hence, in the future, when they interact with members of that culture, they are fully aware not only of the needs of that culture, but of the differences of that culture to their own. This is one aspect that governments forget in their negotiations with other nations, and is especially true of a relationship such as

⁶⁵⁹ “Education – the Great Invisible Export” (British Council: London).

the Anglo-Saudi relationship, where on the one side we have a secular culture and on the other side the culture is steeped in Islamic culture and history; governments forget that not only are relationships built between nations at diplomatic levels but they are also built at personal levels.

“While relations between the UK and Saudi Arabia have traditionally been conducted at the level of ruling elites, including the Royal Families, links are increasingly being forged between the broader societies as well. There are sizeable expatriate communities in each country: 34,000 Saudis were resident in the UK and 20,000 British nationals were resident in Saudi Arabia in 2012. Saudi Arabia is not a tourist destination for Britons, but over 70,000 British Muslims visit on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina each year, and British Muslims make up the largest contingent from a Western state to the annual Hajj. The UK, particularly London, is considered a tourist destination, and over 100,000 visits were made from Saudi Arabia last year, making the UK the European country most visited by Saudis in most years.”⁶⁶⁰

There are also other aspects of educational co-operation that have been made throughout the decades between Saudi Arabia and Britain, notably language-learning exchanges. Britain has hosted large numbers of Saudi students learning English, just as the British Council has done from its Saudi operations. Interestingly it has been British universities, rather than their Saudi counterparts, who have looked to meet the demand of those wanting to learn Arabic. It is argued in this chapter that Saudi Arabia could look to play a much more significant role in this educational pursuit in the future, by creating specialised Arabic teaching centres and institutes that at the same time introduce the Arab Islamic cultural heritage to Britain.⁶⁶¹ Equally important is the need to expand opportunities for learning Arabic to the British and others in Saudi

⁶⁶⁰ “Bilateral Relations with Saudi Arabia”, (Foreign Affairs Committee).

⁶⁶¹ This initiative is supported also by Vice President for Student Affairs at Qatar University, Dr Omar Mohammad AlAnsari, who presented a paper at the GCC Days in London Conference, (20 October 2010): “Towards strengthening understanding between the GCC countries and Britain; the role of education in building bridges.”.

Arabia, through the provision of scholarships for Britons inside Saudi for this purpose. What distinguishes this option from the former suggestion is that it requires total immersion in Arabic language study and in everyday Arab life, which has positive implications for larger and deeper understanding of Saudi and Arab culture in general. A concept perhaps, for future promoters of Anglo-Saudi cultural relations to aspire to achieve.

As has been discussed quite extensively in this chapter, especially with reference to the *Trust Pays* report, is the fact that in Saudis who have had little cultural interaction with the British, and similarly in the British who have had little or no contact with their Saudi counterparts, there is little trust between the two nations. We have also seen in previous chapters how negative representation in the media, and the tendency for the British media, particularly the tabloid press, to sensationalise any story about Saudi Arabia as a mixture of barbarism and terrorism, can lead to a deep-seated feeling of mistrust. So although “the UK was generally viewed quite positively by the Saudi leadership, [there was] a mixture of [...] ignorance and attraction among the wider Saudi population.”⁶⁶²

“The British Council also contributes to people-to-people trust and understanding, promoting Britain through education, art, and social initiatives. With offices and teaching centres in Riyadh, Jeddah and Al-Khobar, it boasts a strong presence in Saudi Arabia and told us that it was ‘recognised as a trusted partner by both governments and by civil society.’ It provides English language teaching and training to 15,000 students, as well as working with the Saudi Ministry of Education, universities and private schools. The British Council claimed to be dominant in this area, telling us that ‘the scale of our work in English is unrivalled by US and other European cultural relations analogues in Saudi.’ The British Council also emphasised the arts as a means of connecting the Saudi and British societies, highlighting the success of their Out of Britain touring exhibition of contemporary British art and the

⁶⁶² “Bilateral Relations with Saudi Arabia”, (Foreign Affairs Committee).

British Museum's Hajj exhibition. Therefore, the 2012 British Council poll provides support for the British Council's claims to improve trust in people from the UK."⁶⁶³

We have shown that the Saudi government in particular, especially since the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in the US and 7/7 in London, have been keen to promote scholarships abroad, and the UK economy and culture have benefitted from this. The scholarships have mainly been directed at the young, who are considered vital for the future development of Saudi Arabia, however, there are still high levels of mistrust between the citizens of the two nations. The work of the British Council in Saudi Arabia, and the Prime Minister's Initiatives run under the last British Labour government went a long way to addressing these issues. In addition British Ambassadors have written columns in Saudi newspapers to "provide a sense of British views and values to the readership"⁶⁶⁴ and the British Embassy runs a Facebook page and twitter feed, with over 11,000 followers to report events and news.

"In an example of its outreach work, the Embassy has launched a photo competition open to the general public 'to search for the best image which demonstrates the friendship between UK and Saudi Arabia'".⁶⁶⁵

Consideration of education and cultural exchange cannot be completely concluded without considering the work of the BBC Arabic language service. Part of the BBC World Service, the BBC Arabic service delivers news in Arabic for and about the Middle East. At the end of 2014, the BBC World Service reported record viewing figures for its Arabic Service across the Middle East with 31,500,000 weekly viewers, an increase of 13 per cent over the previous year, and online services were 50 per cent

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.

higher than the previous year⁶⁶⁶. In Saudi Arabia, BBC Arabic achieved its targets to have the highest ratings of any international television channel in the Arab world for key Trust indicators over Al Jazeera, Al Hurra and Al Arabiya.⁶⁶⁷

Governments are becoming increasingly aware of the usefulness of cultural diplomacy and education exchange The Foreign Affairs Committee concluded with a recommendation towards Anglo-Saudi cultural relations:

“We recommend that the Government set out in response to this report any research it has conducted on the public perception of the UK in Saudi Arabia, and its views on the reasons for the poor public perception of the UK.”⁶⁶⁸

In response, the British government said that it was “concerned about any negative perception of the UK within Saudi Arabia,” but seemed to dispute the findings of the *Trust Pays* report, saying that, “there is little evidence available regarding Saudi perceptions of the UK or other countries [and] UK continues to be the second most popular destination for Saudi students overseas, after the United States.”⁶⁶⁹ However, the government did admit that Saudi Arabia is a “critical partner” for the UK and expressed an interest in reopening the Two Kingdoms Dialogue, which had stalled in 2009 after the election of the British Coalition government in 2010. In terms of bilateral relations, the British government did acknowledge the work of the British Council, when it praised the Council’s “Connecting Classrooms” programme. However, much of the response was concerned with increasing business activities, citing the presence of Saudi Arabia in an “unstable region” as a reason for increased

⁶⁶⁶ BBC, *BBC World Service Annual Review 2013/14*, (BBC: London), pp. 49-52.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁶⁶⁸ “Bilateral Relations with Saudi Arabia”, (Foreign Affairs Committee).

⁶⁶⁹ “Government Response to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee’s Fifth Report of Session 2013-2014” (The Stationery Office: London), p. 5.

business activities, and little attention was giving to helping students and education, for example reviewing the costs and tariffs associated with visas.⁶⁷⁰

“Many in the Gulf, and especially in Saudi Arabia, believe that their society is often misrepresented in the West; this belief is not without foundation, and is expressed forcefully at all levels of society. By the same token, the European Commission has been concerned to find ways of expanding understanding of Europe, its institutions and society, among the younger generation of the Gulf, in part to underpin future relations.”⁶⁷¹

The emphasis on the promotion of business over education seems to be one factor that makes bilateral relations so complicated, particularly with relation to trust issues, as has been shown on many levels. One solution to this could be the expansion of student exchanges in both countries, and the inclusion of “European studies” in the curriculum of Saudi universities. As discussed previously, earlier attempts to create bilateral relations through education in Europe fell victim “to the overall collapse of the [1995 EU/GCC agreement].”⁶⁷²

The availability of a host of British government scholarships such as the Chevening Scholarship is well known as a significant “pull factor” for Saudi students. Given this, the recent popularity of Saudi government scholarships could not just be viewed as a contributing factor for expanding international student enrolments⁶⁷³ but could also be a great opportunity for both countries to mutually enhance their image, close the cultural gap, and build bridges.

This issue of cultural diplomacy, exchange, and relations, or as it was described by Nonneman as the “‘soft’ side of international relations,” has been left underdeveloped, with governments on both sides being more interested in the “hard”

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 8.

⁶⁷¹ Nonneman, “Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001”, p. 659.

⁶⁷² Ibid.

⁶⁷³ Chou, Ching and Roberts, “A Study on the International Students’ Perceptions and Norms in Taiwan”.

aspects of the relationship such as “oil; trade and investment; security; regional politics; relations between the EU and the GCC; ‘and cultural understanding.’”⁶⁷⁴

Although it is evident that more scholars and authors like Nonneman have started to recognise and use the term “cultural” in their articles and essays about relations with Saudi Arabia, there is still no clear view on the strategy of these countries in how they will deal “culturally” with Saudi Arabia.

During an informal conversation with Daniel Kawczynski MP, in analysis of the relations between both countries he thinks that they are nothing like as fruitful as they should be. He gained this opinion from just the economic side, where he commented:

“Bilateral trade with United Kingdom and Saudi Arabia is very small in comparison with other countries, I think we export only [...] five or six billion pounds a year with Saudi Arabia. It’s over 12 billion pounds with the United Arab Emirates, so it’s double than it is with Saudi. There are over 130,000 British people living in the United Arab Emirates so I think because of the restrictions on visas and because of the lack of interest by many Saudi organisations in promoting opportunities within Saudi Arabia, British business people, and politicians, and others go to other parts of the Gulf rather than Saudi Arabia; like Qatar, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates and Oman. If you bear in mind the size of Saudi Arabia and the population, British/Saudi interaction is fractional compared to the interaction with other Gulf states.”

Such an impression clearly affected his ability to conduct his own affairs as Chairman of the All-party Committee on Saudi Arabia, and he had been trying to provide a solution for a long time. Overall he felt it was,

“very disappointing from my perspective because I’m the Chairman and I want to promote Anglo-Saudi relations, and I feel very strongly about the importance of Anglo-Saudi Arab relations both economically, strategically, and from a security

⁶⁷⁴ Nonneman, “Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001”, p. 659.

perspective. And yet the most important thing is for the people to get to know one another and learn about each other and have these cultural exchanges and economic exchanges. [But] it's not happening between the United Kingdom and Saudi Arabia."

He continued:

"So that's very disappointing and there are very few British people living in Saudi Arabia and that's a problem that Saudi needs to be more proactive in. For example, the other day [I went] to the Lancaster Hotel where there was a huge conference organised by the Emirates government. It was called "The Abu Dhabi Investment Forum" and there were people from all over the UAE that came specifically to engage with British companies to talk about the opportunities of bilateral trade. I've never come across anything like this by Saudi, I've never come across any and I've been the Chairman of the all-party group for Saudi for six or seven years. I've never come across the Saudi Investment Forum or Saudis coming here to talk about opportunities and so it's very difficult."

Therefore, Daniel gave his opinion as to what Saudi should do to enhance the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the British. He raised other very important points that should be considered:

"People know very little about Saudi in this country and I will say [...] the best thing they can do is to open up the Red Sea to tourism, because if people see something for themselves, the picture says more than thousands words. If you go to Saudi you see how beautiful the country is and how kind the people are and how warm they are. Saudi will sell itself to the British people. This why the relation with UAE is so strong, because the Emirates come here and the British go to the Emirates. The bond, the relationship and the friendship between the Emirates and the United Kingdom is profound. [...] I understand the concerns the Saudi have, they have Makkah. Of course they will be restrictions, at the Vatican City you wouldn't have people coming with beach towels on the steps of the Vatican, and I understand that the Saudi and custodians of the two holy mosques [want] to maintain some sort of semblance of propriety and of course they don't want mass tourism like you will see in certain parts of Europe. But if they were to open up some of the Red Sea for high-end type of tourism! Where

people come and visit Saudi on a cultural basis, that will do a huge amount.”

Recognising the cultural differences, he commented:

“I’m not asking them to set up ‘drink as much as you like’ bars and resorts with sunbathing, I could imagine what it could go down like in Saudi, but I’m saying if they really want to engage with Europeans, these restrictions on tourism are a huge impediment to that.”

Daniel also raised the work of the Embassy and the cultural centres:

“The Saudi Embassy is very good here, but I think they have to have a massive campaign to promote their country and the opportunities of engaging Saudis with the United Kingdom. E.g. have conferences, economic conferences where they bring their business people, like the Emiratis do. There should be an annual Saudi trade investment fair in London, once a year, where all businesses in Saudi Arabia can come to London and advertise what opportunities there are, because the more business engagement there is between the two countries the more likely there is to have better understanding.”

“Now, we need to do things to promote the United Kingdom also, and I really wonder sometimes what the people of Saudi Arabia think of Britain. My only personal experience is walking in the park in Riyadh by myself. I was amazed at the number of children who are wearing Manchester United football shirts and English football shirts and they were very interested in English football, I should say. And they wanted to interact with me. I think these children and people wanted to share their food and picnic with me, people very, very welcoming and warm in Saudi Arabia. So I think the United Kingdom has to do more to understand about Saudi and Saudi opportunities, and no matter how difficult the visa restrictions are to try to find business out there. Saudi is a huge trade circle and there are opportunities for British companies to operate in Saudi. And yet because of the restrictions they tend to go the UAE as I said, to the other Gulf states, and as long that happens natural relations and understanding between the UK and Saudi will never be like the other Arab States, and that for me is very sad.”

Daniel summarised one of the main problem between both countries, which in some cases could destroy their relations. He said:

I am writing a book about Saudi Arabia to talk about about the positive aspects of Saudi society, because all you hear in this country are negative stories about Saudi Arabia. So what happens is the Press is very focused, in my view, [...] on promoting negative stories about the Kingdom. So whether it's to do with restrictions on women being able to drive, whether it's issues to do with capital punishment, there are a lot of negative perceptions and these are propagated by newspapers and the media. So my book is an attempt to talk about the huge progress that Saudi is making in terms of modernising society. The development and growth of women's rights and how the country is expanding and opening up opportunities for development. So it tries to portray a positive aspect of Saudi and to explain the importance of British engagement with Saudi Arabia."

When asked about his personal feelings about Saudi Arabia, Daniel commented:

"People don't understand why I'm very pro-Saudi and I get criticised here in Parliament for being very pro-Saudi, People's perceptions are very negative. So I say to other MPs what's the first thing that comes into your mind when I say 'Saudi Arabia?' Most of them [...] accuse Saudi Arabia of all sorts of negative things because there is a lack of understanding about Saudi Arabia and the media deliberately try to portray Saudi Arabia as a highly restricted, undemocratic society. So my book is trying to counterbalance that really."

"The other thing you should know is that every time I take delegations of members of Parliament to Saudi Arabia, and last time I took 12 members of parliament, making it the largest ever British parliamentary delegation to Saudi Arabia, and every single one of those 12 parliamentarians who came with me, every single one of them, came away with a very positive view of Saudi Arabia. Because they *visited* Saudi Arabia, they *met* with women's rights organisations. So they spoke to women directly, they talked to human rights NGOs, they spoke to ordinary men and women on the streets of Riyadh. So you know they had the opportunity of finding out what Saudi is really like rather than the propaganda."

He was very critical of the attitude of the British media in terms of the news that was being reported about Saudi Arabia:

"I would almost always go as far as to say [that it is] propaganda that is spewed out by the British media against Saudi Arabia. I mean is Saudi a perfect society? No, probably it isn't, which society is? Do we have more or less in this country? Yes we do. So it's very easy to lecture other countries

about human rights and how they should behave but we have a saying in the Bible 'let him without fault cast the first stone.' So you know we are not perfect by any means as a society in this country and so I think we have to be more understanding about the different nature of other people's societies."

Since the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and Middle Eastern wars of the beginning of this century, the issue of Anglo-Saudi cultural relations has never been more uncertain since the days when such relations began in earnest during the 1970s. Both countries need to demonstrate yet again the balance between the need to reinvigorate bilateral relations and the need to take advantage of the available cultural tools and have the ability to create innovative cultural exchanges. Effort should also be made in establishing methods in order to achieve a measure of balancing cultural links, and correcting the image of both countries to build trust among the people and enhance other relations.

At present, nearly every Saudi family has one or more of its children studying abroad, with the total number of such students approaching 200,000. Because of the close ties that are characteristic of Saudi families, those of them who have students studying abroad follow the news of the countries where their relatives are studying, including the weather forecast, as Abd al-Ilah Saati, a Saudi writer, mentions. This has a very positive effect as both the student and his or her family get to know a different culture. The author remember the time when a volcano erupted in Europe in 2011 affecting air travel and British airports were closed for several days. People in Saudi Arabia were always talking about this with much apprehension and expectation, following the situation and its developments very closely. The same sort of interest was shown when heavy snowfalls were experienced in Britain in recent years. Saudi

families who had relatives in Britain took much interest and followed developments as though they were in Britain. Needless to say, interest in such matters was never previously at the same level.

The Saudi attachés reporting to the Ministry of Higher Education at Saudi Embassies have been called ‘cultural’, while they undertake an important, but purely educational role. The researcher considers that there is urgent need that the Saudi Cultural Bureau at the Saudi Embassy in London opens branch offices in a number of the major British cities such as Manchester, Edinburgh and Cardiff, as the number of Saudi students in Britain continues to increase. So far, the administrative role of the Cultural Attachés in different countries has enabled them to supervise the students from the educational and formal points of view. They do not appear to have a clear cultural role that enables them to build cultural bridges that are seen and felt by the local population and the Saudi students and nationals. They need to be more proactive in communication with Saudi students. They can easily adopt a number of effective technological tools to ensure that the students are well aware of the different aspects of life in the country, its laws and regulations, their own safety and what precautions they need to take for their own security in the cities where they live. This can be done on an on-going basis through useful electronic applications.

This role of spreading awareness is not an exclusive one to the Cultural Attaché. The Saudi Embassy is an important partner in this area. It must be fully active in establishing a clear cultural tie between Saudi students and the country they are in.

Saudi Students’ Clubs, which are available in all British cities, should be more active and better supported. Most of these clubs do not actively interact with the students and encourage them to participate in the club’s cultural activities that aim to

present Saudi Arabia and remove barriers between Saudi and British people. The clubs are content to have their core membership and are happy to go ahead with their function, regardless of the limited number of people present. They thus fall short of interacting with all students. Moreover, they should endeavour to open channels between Saudi and other students in the British universities. Such channels help to achieve the objectives already mentioned and help to exchange views and expertise. This is certainly one of the main reasons for the establishment of these student clubs in Britain, as appears in the announcement of their establishment. Yet they do little in this regard.

It seems clear that the role played by higher education, as well its various types and programmes, whether learning English; teaching Arabic; studying abroad; and student exchanges, in creating and promoting bridges of understanding, communication and cooperation between Saudi Arabia and Britain are valuable. It is also true that more opportunities, initiatives and projects could be made to contribute towards creating even more of these bridges and strengthen and consolidate existing ones.

At the same time, when students are engaged with the detail of learning about everyday life in British culture, especially as many of them live with British host families during their learning period, it could be argued that this daily coexistence would create an ideal atmosphere for dialogue and discussion, thus providing a greater understanding of others and working to bring the views of different people together, strengthen ties and build bridges of understanding.

The other aspect of education co-operation between Saudi and Britain over the years is language-learning exchange. It is important that Saudi Arabia, the GCC and the whole Arab states at this point should assume responsibility for the Arabic language and give this issue significant importance and careful attention. Since such a project

could be burdening on the economy, Saudi Arabia and the GCC as they have a greater financial capacity than other Arab states, should provide a greater number of opportunities to learn about the Arabic language and Arab culture, both within their own countries and abroad.

If Saudi Arabia had taken this initiative, no doubt such a project would have a large impact on strengthening relations and building bridges of understanding, not merely between Saudi Arabia and other countries, which have placed such projects in them, but also the GCC and the Arab states. The Saudi government could take advantage of students who are sent to study abroad, and who are in large numbers, in Arabic language teaching according to their competence and efficiency, which would be mutually beneficial. In the meantime, the work would be from both sides, not just supported by one side, to improve cultural relations, which is represented here in this research by Britain.

This initiative was supported by the “growing demand for learning Arabic in Britain” as Alansari said, as previously mentioned. Britain and Saudi Arabia could play an important role for the success of this initiative, especially if there was a co-operation between Gulf states for this initiative. As previously mentioned Saudi Arabia - with support from the GCC - can expand in providing opportunities to learn Arabic in Britain through the creation of specialised Arabic teaching centres and institutes, and introducing the Arab Islamic cultural heritage into Britain.

Equally important, if not the most important, is the need to expand opportunities for learning Arabic to the British and others in Saudi Arabia, and the GCC as well, through the provision of scholarships for Britons inside Saudi for this purpose. What distinguishes this option from the former suggestion is two things; the birth of young Britons in Saudi, who would be totally immersed in Arabic language study and in

everyday Arabic life from a young age, which has positive implications in providing a larger and deeper understanding of Saudi and Arabic culture in general; and a real British presence in the GCC countries.

Evaluation of this study, especially in these uncertain and turbulent days, is complicated, as their effects are hard to assess without examining some new phenomena which have only been touched lightly, such as the role of the information technology revolution, Saudi student clubs and the various Arab revolutions that are taking place during the writing of this thesis.

However, it is hoped that this thesis might be a springboard to promote an in-depth evaluation of Anglo-Saudi cultural diplomacy efforts on both sides. Without doubt, after studying many of the factors and events that have been raised, the conclusion is that bilateral cultural relations between Saudi Arabia and the UK are extremely complex, and it can only be suggested that after taking some of these factors and considering them in depth will any real progress be made.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary Sources

A) National Archives

Diplomatic Cables British Embassy, (Jeddah - FCO/8/3755), pp.45-8.

FCO 13/1835	FCO 8/3755
FCO 371/127157	FCO 13/582
FCO 371/ 120772	FCO 8760
FCO 371/114623	FCO 8/1735
FCO 371/104874	FCO 8/3051
FCO 953/1420	FCO 13/791
FCO 8/760	FCO 13/835
FCO 924/856	FCO 13/789
FCO 13/ 6063	FCO 924/1178
FCO 17432/8/67	FCO 93/137/20

B) Official Government of Saudi Arabia Reports and Documents

- “Cultural Clubs and Events Undertaken by Saudi Student in UK, Football Tournaments and Book Reading Groups”, Saudi-British Society in London.
- Ministry of Education, 1996. *Development of Education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*. (National Report: Riyadh).
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “The 4th Saudi-British Forum of the Two Kingdoms Dialogue Conference, 7-8 April 2009”, accessed on 14 January 2015.
<http://www.mofa.gov.sa/sites/mofaen/ServicesAndInformation/news/MinistryNews/Pages/NewsArticleID92218.aspx>
-, “Events of the Saudi-British Third Forum under the title (Two Kingdoms Dialogue... Common Challenges.”. Accessed on 11 February 2015
<http://www.mofa.gov.sa/sites/mofaen/RelatedLinks/TwoKingdomsChallengesOctober2007/ConferenceNews/Pages/NewsArticleID70933.aspx>
- Ministry of Higher Education, “The Saudi Academic Chairs and Programs Abroad: A Descriptive-analytical Study”, (*Ministry of Higher Education, General Administration for International Cooperation*, 2010).
- Mursi, Mustafa, 2011, one of the oldest employees in Saudi Cultural Bureau in London in Legal Affairs Department and now transferred to the Cultural affairs Department. Informal interview
- Postsecondary Education Participants System (PEPS), “The source system of records for Foreign Gifts, Data Report”.
- Report of Higher Education Ministry of Saudi Arabia in 1960
- Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 2008. *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The United Kingdom; a History of Friendship* (Saudi Embassy: London)
- Saudi Arabia Cultural Bureau, 2008. *Official Financial Report*. (The Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia; London).
- Saudi Arabian Higher Education Ministry Report, 2010.

C) Published Statistics

- Central Department of Statistics, 1965. *Statistical Yearbook*, (Ministry of Finance and National Economy).
- Saudi Arabia Airlines: Passengers Travelling from Domestic to Foreign Airport. Statistical Yearbook, Central Dept. Of Statistics and Information. Ministry of Economy and Planning, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. 2006,

Saudi Arabian Central Statistical Department, 1969-1978. Table 9-3, 9-4.

The progress in Saudi Arabian Arabia: The Ministry of Planning Estimate-Part two.
Saudi Arabian Statistics.

D) Newspapers and News Agencies

“21 July: Attacks, escapes and arrests”, (*BBC News*, 11 July 2007). Accessed on 10 February 2015 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/6752991.stm

“A Chronology: The House of Saud”, *Frontline Educational Foundation*, accessed on 23 January 2015. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saud/cron/>

Abeidoh, Rawhi, “Saudi leaders shy away from military role”, (*the Guardian*, 18 September 2001). Accessed on 09 February 2015
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/18/september11.usa15>

Akeel, Maha, “English Language Skills Acquire Importance”, (*Arab News*, 28 August 2003). Accessed on 10 February 2015 <http://www.arabnews.com/node/236394>

Alamamin, Noor, 2014. *Adib Al Arabia* (Arabic Literature) Dr. Abdul-Aziz Al Khwiter *Alaay magazine*. Dar Al Ululoom. Vol. 12 (38).
<http://www.darululoom-deoband.com/arabic/magazine/tmp/1411616563fix6sub1file.htm>.

Allam, Abeer, “Abused Women Battle Saudi’s Injustice”, (*Financial Times*, 14 October 2010). Accessed on 11 February 2015
<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d9ee5a5a-d7b0-11df-b478-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3IWDKkoHx>

al-Khereiji, Nourah Abdul Aziz, “With Islam We Fight Terrorism”, (*Arab News*, 05 February 2005). Accessed on 10 February 2015
<http://www.arabnews.com/node/261933>

Al Khotani, Saeed, “British Council invites Saudis to apply for 2002/03 scholarships”, (*Arab News*, 13 May 2001). Accessed on 13 February 2015
<http://www.arabnews.com/node/211755>

“Al Khowiter: Father of Ministries and First Saudi graduate with doctorate”, (*Alyaum*, 07 March 2013. 14510) <http://www.alyaum.com/article/3074434>

Al-Qrani, Ali, “*azzmat al-khitab al-ilemi al-saudi baad ahdath alhadi alshr min septmeber*”.

Al Swidan, Fahad, “Allah pleased Dr Abdul Aziz Al Khowiter”, (*Al Riyadh*, 04 June 2014. 16781)

“Arab League Endorses Saudi Peace Plan”, (*the Guardian*, 28 March 2002). Accessed on 11 February 2015
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/mar/28/israelandthepalestinians.lebanon>

Asharq Al-Awsat, “About Us” (last updated 7 March, 2011). Accessed on 27 January 2015. <http://www.aawsat.net/about-us>

Aspden, Peter, “Pilgrims’ Progress”, (*Financial Times*, 27 January 2012).

Baker, David, “Mysteries of the Hajj revealed as British Museum opens exhibition on Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca”, (*The Daily Mail*, 26 January 2012).

Baker, Mike, “How to Ride out a Media Storm”, (*the Guardian*, 25 September 2007). Accessed on 11 February 2015
<http://www.theguardian.com/education/2007/sep/25/schools.uk>

BBC, *BBC World Service Annual Review 2013/14*, (BBC: London), pp. 49-52.

....., Arabic learning at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/languages/other/arabic/guide>.

....., “Viewpoint: British Expatriate in Saudi Arabia”, (*BBC News*, 21 June 2002). Accessed on 11 February 2015
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/2058471.stm

....., “Charles Praises British-Saudi Relations”, (*BBC News*, 10 February, 2004). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/3474723.stm>

....., “Saudi Torture Victims Seek Cash”, (*BBC News*, 17 May 2005). Accessed on 03 November 2014 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4554779.stm

....., “Prince Turki al-Faisal” (*BBC News: Profile*, 20 July 2005). Accessed on 11 February 2015 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4700589.stm

....., “School Edits Controversial Books”, (*BBC News*, 07 February 2007). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/6337299.stm>

....., “Prince Saud-Faisal Speech to the British media”, (*BBC News*, 30 October 2007).

....., “Prime Minister Gordon Brown Visits Saudi ‘Terror Centre’”, (*BBC News*, 21 November 2008). Accessed on 11 February 2015
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/7704968.stm

....., “Saudi Arabia Profile”, (*BBC News*, 22 August 2010). Accessed on 08 November 2014 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14703480>

Berliner, Wendy, “It’s Time for a National Debate on Language Learning”, (*the Guardian*, 28 August 2013). Accessed on 12 February 2015
<http://www.theguardian.com/education/2013/aug/28/uk-languages-profile-campaign>

- Black, Ian, "Saudis Treat Domestic Staff Like 'Virtual Slaves'", (*the Guardian*, 09 July 2008). Accessed on 11 February 2015
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jul/09/saudi-arabia.humanrights>
- "Britain and Saudi Arabia Plan to Increase Trade", (*The New York Times*, 23 October 1975).
- "Britain to Assist Saudi Arabian Air Defense", (*The New York Times*, 11 May 1973).
- "British Universities Receive Saudi Funds", (*Arab News*, 30 September 2012).
 Accessed on 08 February 2015 <http://www.arabnews.com/british-universities-receive-saudi-funds>
- Burrows, Gideon, "Out of Arms way", (*The Guardian*, 08 August 2003).
- Butt, Gerald, "Profile: Saudi Prince Saud al-Faisal", (*BBC News*, 03 June 2004).
 Accessed on 11 February 2015
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3770089.stm
- Canberra, David O'Reilly, "Nurses Did Kill: Says Author", (*the Observer*, 03 January 1999). Accessed on 08 February 2015
<http://www.theguardian.com/uk/1999/jan/03/8>
- Cook, Chris, "Saudis Donate most to UK Universities", (*Financial Times*, 27 September 2012)
- Cordahi, James and Stephen Voss, "Saudi Arabia, Exxon Say Oil will last for Decades", (*Bloomberg*, 27 September 2005). Accessed on 11 February 2015
<http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=newsarchive&sid=a.nl1r5PfA3A&refer=home>
- Crook, Edward, "World Likely to Rely on Saudi Oil in Future", (*Financial Times*, 02 August 2009).
- "Cultural exchange in Omani desert", BBC News, 18 February 2008. Accessed on 08 February 2015. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_pictures/7247342.stm
- Delmer, Sefton, "Express chief foreign affairs reporter Delmer spends a weekend of Arabian splendour and tell of 'The King and I'. Desert ruler says hands off. Meeting with King Saud", (*Daily Express*, 06 February 1956), p. 2.
- "Dialogue between Two Kingdoms", *Asharq Al-Awsat*, 10 April 2009). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.aawsat.net/2009/04/article55255333>
- "Ethnic minorities living in the UK feel more British than white Britons," (*Institute for Social and Economic Research*, 30 June 2012). Accessed on 23 September 2013 <https://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/2012/06/30/ethnic-minorities-living-in-the-uk-feel-more-british-than-white-britons>
- Evans, Kathy, "Troublesome gifts", (*the Guardian*, 20 Jun 1995), p. 1.

“Exhibition” British Muslim Experiences of the Hajj (Leeds University). Accessed on 10 February 2015 <http://arts.leeds.ac.uk/hajj/exhibition/>

Fairhall, John, “Britain negotiates for Saudi Arabian teaching contract”, (*The Guardian*, 27 May 1975), p. 4.

Fairhall, John, “The Semantic Alliance”, (*The Guardian*, 04 Jun 1975), p. 9.

Gander, Kashmira and Kevin Rawlinson, “Half of Britain’s Mosques Have Been Attacked Since 9/11”, (*The Independent*, 28 June 2013). Accessed on 23 September 2013 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/half-of-britains-mosques-have-been-attacked-since-911-8679304.html>

Gardner, Frank, “Saudi Visit to Seal Ties with UK”, (*BBC News*, 28 October 2007). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/7066764.stm>

....., “They shot me six times and left me paralysed in a pool of blood - but I had to go back to Al Qaeda country”, (*Daily Mail*, 06 April 2013). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2305069/They-shot-times-left-paralysed-pool-blood--I-to-Al-Qaeda-country-Courageous-pilgrimage-BBCs-Frank-Gardner.html>

....., “Bullets and Flashbacks Won’t Keep me Away”, (*The Times*, 29 April 2014).

“GCC’s investment in UK put at over \$208 billion”, (*Emirates 24/7 news*, 20 October 2010). Accessed on 23 January 2015. <http://www.emirates247.com/business/economy-finance/gcc-s-investment-in-uk-put-at-over-208-bn-2010-10-20-1.306606>

Harnden, Toby, “Saudi Reformers pin Their Hopes on New King but Know that any Change will come Slowly”, (*Daily Telegraph*, 07 August 2005). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/saudi-arabia/1495719/Saudi-reformers-pin-their-hopes-on-new-king-but-know-that-any-change-will-come-slowly.html>

Harris, Paul and Martin Bright, “Saudi Envoy in UK Linked to 9/11”, (*the Observer*, 02 March 2003). Accessed 11 February 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/mar/02/september11.politics>

Harvey, Fiona and Gregory Meyer, “Oil Prices Rise Above \$85 on Saudi Signal”, (*Financial Times*, 02 November 2010). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/b4fb4170-e62b-11df-9cdd-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3IWDKkoHx>

“International schools becoming popular among Saudis”, (*Arab News*, 26 August 2013). Accessed on 14 January 2015. <http://www.arabnews.com/news/462540>

- Interview with Director of King Fahad Academy, (*Newsnight*, 07 February 2007). Accessed on 01 November 2014 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-0-jadXUKWM>
- “Islamophobia on rise in Britain as half of mosques attacked since 9/11,” (*Today's Zaman*, 01 July 2013). Accessed on 23 September 2013 <http://www.todayszaman.com/news-319683-islamophobia-on-rise-in-britain-as-half-of-mosques-attacked-since-911.html>
- Karam, Souhail, “Saudi Couple Forced to Divorce can Stay Married”, (*The Independent*, 01 February 2010). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/saudi-couple-forced-to-divorce-can-stay-married-1885179.html?origin=internalSearch>
- Kelso, Paul, et al., “How friends who liked a drink were blamed for wave of anti-western terror”, (*the Guardian*, 30 January 2002). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/jan/30/saudi-arabia.davidpallister>
- Kerr, Simeon, “Saudis Raise Higher Earnings”, (*Financial Times*, 24 October 2007). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/0d85c276-8247-11dc-8a8f-0000779fd2ac.html?siteedition=uk#axzz3IWDKkoHx>
- Kennedy, Maev, “Hajj exhibition at British Museum” (*the Guardian*, 25 January 2012). Accessed on 10 February 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/jan/25/hajj-exhibition-british-museum>
- La Guardia, Anton, “New Saudi Envoy to London has bin Laden Links”, (*Daily Telegraph*, 19 October 2002). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/saudi-arabia/1410665/New-Saudi-envoy-to-London-has-bin-Laden-links.html>
- Leach, Ben, “‘Extremism’ Fear Over Islam Studies Donations”, (*The Telegraph*, 13 Apr 2008). Accessed on 09 February 2015 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1584954/Extremism-fear-over-Islam-studies-donations.html>
- Lewis, Flora, “Saudis’ Influence is Growing; Saud Arabia is Seen as Becoming Key Power in Political of Mideast”, (*The New York Times*, 30 January 1977).
- “London Police Nab Man in Latest Bombings” (quoted to BBC Radio 4). Source: The Washington Post; http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/07/22/AR2005072200162_4.html, retrieved 23 August 2013.
- “London School Wins Sunday Express Damages over Islam Fanatics Claim”, (*Al Arabiya News*, 01 August 2012). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/08/01/229737.html>

“Longing for Makkah”, British Muslim Experiences of the Hajj (Leeds University). Accessed on 10 February 2015 <http://arts.leeds.ac.uk/hajj/exhibition/longing-for-makkah/>

MacLeod, Donald, “Build Partnerships Overseas, Blair Tells Universities”, (*the Guardian*, 18 April 2006). Accessed on 12 February 2015 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2006/apr/18/highereducation.uk2>

Malik, Nesrine, “Female Attack on Religious Police Show Shift in Saudi Values”, (*the Guardian*, 26 May 2010). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2010/may/26/saudi-women-religious-police>

Massie, William, “‘Revenge’ Threat to Kill Mrs Thatcher”, (*Sunday Express*, 5 April 1981), p. 1.

McFadyen, Andrew, “UK Muslims feel ‘more British’ than whites,” (*Al Jazeera English*, 21 July 2012). Accessed 23 September 2013 <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2012/07/2012721134027137849.html>

“Memorandum of Understanding for the provision of equipment and services for the Royal Saudi Air Force”, (*The Guardian*; London, September 1985). Archived from the original on 10 November 2006. Accessed on 08 February 2015 http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Politics/documents/2006/10/27/PJ5_39AYMoUSep1985.pdf. Retrieved 02 June 2013.

“Men to Decide if Women Should Drive”, (*Sky News*, 15 February 2014). Accessed on 15 February 2015 <http://news.sky.com/story/406165/men-to-decide-if-women-should-drive>

Middle East North Africa, Financial Network (MENAFN), “Saudi Arabian-German meeting focuses on long-term partnership”, (*Arab News*, 12 October 2010). <http://www.menafn.com/menafn/1093370761/SaudiGerman-meeting-focuses-on-longterm-partnership>

Moore, Suzanne, “Who Killed Yvonne Gilford? Who Cares-Certainly not the Tabloids”, (*The Independent*, 22 May 1998). Accessed on 08 February 2015 <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/who-killed-yvonne-gilford-who-cares--certainly-not-the-tabloids-1158020.html>

Moosavi, Leon, “Muslims are well-integrated in Britain – but no one seems to believe it” (*the Guardian*, 03 July 2012). Accessed 23 September 2013 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2012/jul/03/muslims-integrated-britain>

Mottram, R.C., 1985. *Briefing for the Prime Minister's meeting with Prince Sultan*, (*The Guardian*: London) Archived from the original on 10 November 2006, accessed on 08 February 2015 http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Politics/documents/2006/10/27/PJ5_39BriefforThatcherSept85.pdf

Moyes, Jojo, "Saudis Try British Nurses for Murder", (*The Independent*, 20 May 1997). Accessed on 08 February 2015
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/saudis-try-british-nurses-for-murder-1262482.html>

Peppiatt, Richard, "Women & Islam: The rise and rise of the convert", (*The Independent*, 06 November 2011). Accessed on 15 January 2015
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/women--islam-the-rise-and-rise-of-the-convert-6258015.html>.

"Praise for Saudi Monarch's 'Generosity'", (BBC News, 20 May 1998). Accessed on 02 November 2014 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/97544.stm

"Queen Hosts Saudi King at Palace Banquet", (Sky News, 30 October 2007). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://news.sky.com/story/549378/queen-hosts-saudi-king-at-palace-banquet>

RasoolDeen, Mohammed, "International Accreditation for GOTEVOT", (Arab News, 01 February 2005). Accessed on 14 January 2015.
<http://www.arabnews.com/node/261732>

RasoolDeen, Mohammed, "GOTEVOT Gets UK Accreditation", (Arab News, 22 February 2005). Accessed on 14 January 2015.
<http://www.arabnews.com/node/262698>

Shariatmadari, David, "A study in scare-mongering", (*the Guardian*, 02 April 2009). Accessed on 09 February 2015
<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2009/apr/01/islam-social-cohesion-university-funding>

bin Slemh, Abdel Aziz, "After Integration of the Culture and Media, is there a Cultural Policy in Saudi Arabia?" (Riyadh, 2002).

"Saudi Arabia Agrees to Buy Eurofighter Fleet", (*Sky News*, 18 August 2006). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://news.sky.com/story/449303/saudis-agree-to-buy-eurofighter-fleet>

"Saudi-British Relations Extends to Eight Decades of Common Interests", (*Al Riyadh News*, 29 October 2007). Accessed on 14 January 2015.
<http://www.alriyadh.com/2007/10/29/article290026.html>

"Saudi Complaints at Terror Alert", (*Daily Telegraph*, 25 October 2003). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/1445090/Saudi-complaints-at-terror-alert.html>

Smith, Alexandra, "Probe Ordered of Islamic School over Textbooks", (*the Guardian*, 08 February 2007). Accessed on 02 November 2014
<http://www.theguardian.com/education/2007/feb/08/schools.uk4>

- Tago. Abdul Hannan, "Best of Britain on show in Riyadh", (*Arab News*, 08 March 2013). Accessed on 12 February 2015 <http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/best-britain-show-riyadh>
- Taylor, Jerome and Sarah Morrison, "The Islamification of Britain: record numbers embrace Muslim faith", (*The Independent*, 04 January 2011). Accessed on 15 January 2015. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-islamification-of-britain-record-numbers-embrace-muslim-faith-2175178.html>.
- Thatcher, Margaret responding to a journalist from the BBC about BAE system arm deals with Saudi Government during her time in office
- "The Two Kingdoms Dialogue: Shared Challenges-Co-ordinated Solutions". (*Kingdom to Kingdom*, n.d.), p. 4. Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.sbtd.co.uk/K2K/Summer%202009/K2K%20Sum09%20Draft02%20KLS%2006.pdf>
- "The Two British Nurses at Home", (*Panorama*, 21 May 1998). (Transcript of the programme). Accessed on 08 February 2015 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/audio_video/programmes/panorama/transcripts/transcript_21_05_98.txt
- "Tucker Eskew: American spin doctor in London", (*The Independent*, 19 March 2002).
- "UK Papers Snap up Nurses Stories." (BBC News, 22 May 1998). Accessed on 02 November 2014 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/97702.stm>
- "UK Sees Endowments Rise", (Times Higher Education, 20 May 2005). Accessed on 08 February 2015 <http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/news/uk-sees-endowments-rise/196110.article>.
- "University Endowments – A UK/US Comparison", (The Sutton Trust: London, May 2003). Accessed on 08 February 2015 http://www.suttontrust.com/wp-content/uploads/2003/05/endowments_report.pdf
- Walker, Duncan, "Speak Arabic? £100,000 could be Yours", (*BBC News*, 26 February 2004). Accessed on 12 February 2015 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/3486480.stm>
- "We Do Use Books That Call Jews 'Apes' Admits Head of Islamic School", (*London Evening Standard*, 07 February 2007). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/we-do-use-books-that-call-jews-apes-admits-head-of-islamic-school-7189965.html>
- Woolcock, Nicola and Anton le Guardia, "Freed Bomber Tells of Torture in Saudi Jail", (*Daily Telegraph*, 09 August 2003). Accessed on 03 November 2014 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/saudi-arabia/1438410/Freed-bomber-tells-of-torture-in-Saudi-jail.html>

E) Reports and Articles Published by the British Council

- Archer, Will, Tom Baynton and Jacqueline Cheng, 2011. *Measuring the Effect of the Prime Minister's Initiative on the International Student Experience in the UK* (The International Graduate Insight Group Ltd. (i-graduate): London).
- Arthur, Nancy, 2004. *Counseling International Students: Clients from Around the World*. (Springer: New York), p. 5.
- Best of Britain, Saudi Arabia March 10-12th. A showcase of the best Britain brands. Nayyara Banqueting and Convention Centre, Riyadh-Saudi Arabia, British Council, 2013
- British Council, "British Council Research Shows 2012's Strong Overseas Impact for the UK", (British Council press release, 18 December 2012). Accessed on 12 February 2015 <http://www.britishcouncil.org/organisation/press/research-shows-2012-strong-overseas-impact-uk>
-, British Council, 2004. *Education UK: Positioning for Success*, (British Council: London).
-, "Education – the Great Invisible Export", (British Council press release, 18 September 2007).
-, British Council, "Building Cultural Relations Creating Educational Opportunities", (*In Touch*, British Council, summer 2010).
-, "UK more trusted than the US where it matters" British Council, 22 May 2012). Accessed on 13 February 2015 <http://www.britishcouncil.org/organisation/press/uk-more-trusted>. Available also at: <http://www.ipsos-mori.com/Assets/Docs/Polls/british-council-tables-2012.pdf>
-, 2012. *Trust Pays*, (British Council: London). Accessed on 13 February 2015 <http://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/trust-pays-report.pdf>
-, 2013. *Culture Means Business*, (British Council: London). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/culture-means-business-report.pdf>
-, *Further Education Measures One and Two, Prime Minister's Initiative - PMI2 Connect*. <http://www.britishcouncil.org/learning-pmi2-fe-measures.htm>
-, *The Prime Minister's Initiative (PMI2), Saudi Arabia*. http://www.britishcouncil.org/pmi2_brief-2.pdf
- Chadwick, Adrian, "Editorial", (*In Touch*, British Council, spring 2010). Accessed 12 February 2015 <http://www.slideshare.net/kashifchauhan2/british-council-newsletter-saudi-arabia>

Final Evaluation Report, *Prime Minister's Initiative for International Education Phase 2 (PMI2)*. (DTZ, 2011).
http://www.britishcouncil.org/pmi2_final_evaluation_report.pdf

Ratcliffe, Robert with Jonathan Griffin, 1999. "Through Other Eyes: How the World sees the United Kingdom" (British Council: London).

F) Government and Organisations Official Internet Websites

"1977: Princess Misha'al bint Fahd al Saud and her lover." *Executed Today*.
 Retrieved on 19 September 2013 from
<http://www.executedtoday.com/2009/07/15/1977-princess-mishaal-bint-fahd-al-saud/>

Al Majalla magazine. "About Us" (last updated 7 March 2011). Accessed on 27 January 2015. <http://www.majalla.com/eng/about-us>

Ayton-Shenker, Diana, 1995. *Background Note: The Challenge of Human Rights and Cultural Diversity*, (United Nations Department of Public Information DPI/1627/HR). Accessed on 16 February 2015
<http://www.un.org/rights/dpi1627e.htm>.

Clark, Alan, *Saudi Arabia (Trade Missions)* HC Deb 21 March 1988 vol 130 cc24-5W. Accessed 08 February 2015.
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1988/mar/21/saudi-arabia-trade-missions#S6CV0130P0_19880321_CWA_175.

Cochrane, Paul, 2007. "Saudi Arabia's Media Influence", *Arab Media Society*.
 Retrieved on 19 September 2013 from
<http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=421>

"Cordesman: 9/11 Commission Report Lacks Specifics", (*Council on Foreign Relations*, 03 August 2004). Accessed on 10 February 2015
<http://www.cfr.org/911-impact/cordesman-911-commission-report-lacks-specifics/p7229>

"Country Profiles: Saudi Arabia", *Factbase*. Accessed on 27 September 2013
<http://www.factba.se/fco-page.php?bc=SA>

CWC Gulf, "CWC Gulf International in Saudi Arabia", accessed on 23 January 2015.
<http://www.cwcgulf.com/SaudiArabianoffice.htm>

Davidson, Martin, 2007. "Cultural Relations: Building Networks to Face Twenty-First-Century Challenges". *Engagement: Public Diplomacy in a Globalised World*, Eds. Jolyon Welsh and Daniel Fearn, (Foreign and Commonwealth Office: London), p. 77.

- Faith Matters, “*Surge in Britons converting to Islam*”, (*Faith Matters*, 06 January 2011), accessed on 15 January 2015. <http://faith-matters.org/press/223-surge-in-britons-converting-to-islam>.
-, “Report sheds light on rise in number of converts to Islam”, (*Faith Matters*, 09 February 2011), accessed on 15 January 2015 <http://faith-matters.org/press/226-report-sheds-light-on-rise-in-number-of-converts-to-islam>.
- Foreign Affairs Committee “Bilateral Relations with Saudi Arabia”, (Annual Report, March 2010). Accessed on 11 February 2015
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmaff/88/8807.htm>
- FCO, “UK and Saudi Arabia drive forward bilateral trade”, (*Foreign and Commonwealth Office*, 24 June 2010). Accessed 14 January 2015.
<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-and-saudi-arabia-drive-forward-bilateral-trade>
-, “Achieving the UK’s Objectives in the Bilateral Context”, (Select Committee on Foreign Affairs). Accessed on 12 February 2015
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199900/cmselect/cmaff/101/10108.htm>
-, Hanley, Jeremy *Saudi Arabia*. HC Deb 24 January 1996 vol. 270 cc453-62. Accessed 14 January 2015.
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1996/jan/24/saudi-arabia#S6CV0270P0_19960124_HOC_631
-, British Embassy in Saudi Arabia, “UK Saudi Relations”, (*British Foreign and Commonwealth Office*, 31 May 2010). Accessed 11 February 2015
<http://ukinsaudiarabia.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/working-with-saudi-arabia/uk-saudi-relations>
- “George W. Bush in his Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People”. Accessed on 09 February 2015 <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>
- “Government Response to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee’s Fifth Report of Session 2013-2014” (The Stationery Office: London), p. 5.
- “Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam” The British Museum. Accessed on 10 February 2015
http://www.britishmuseum.org/whats_on/past_exhibitions/2012/hajj/the_exhibition.aspx
- Hansard. 1988. “Saudi Arabia (Trade Missions)”. Hansard.
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1988/mar/21/saudi-arabia-trade-missions#S6CV0130P0_19880321_CWA_175

History of Saudi Arabia Airline, *Arabic Aviation*. 2006. <http://www.arabic-av.com/forum/t1303/>

Howard, Lewis M., 2010. *Compare and contrast the British government's use of propaganda in the Suez crisis and the Falklands war*, (e-International Relations). Accessed on 08 February 2015 <http://www.e-ir.info/2010/02/15/compare-and-contrast-the-british-government%E2%80%99s-use-of-propaganda-in-the-suez-crisis-and-the-falklands-war/>

"Illuminations on the Process of Higher Education in the Gulf Cooperation Council: Decisions and Achievements Report" (Arabic), (GCC, 2008). Accessed on 12 February 2015 <http://sites.gcc-sg.org/DLibrary/index.php?action=ShowOne&BID=32>

Kehm, Barbara M., 1999. *Higher Education in Germany: Developments, Problems, and Perspectives*, (Institute for Higher Education Research: Wittenberg and the UNESCO European Centre for Higher Education: Bucharest). Accessed on 17 January 2015. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001487/148731eo.pdf>

King Khalid Database, "A History of Journalism" (Arabic). Accessed on 18 February 2015 <http://www.kingkhalid.org.sa/Gallery/Text/ViewBooks.aspx?View=Page&PageID=389&BookID=7>

"Mid-Career Fellowship Competition 2013 Awards", The British Academy. Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.britac.ac.uk/funding/awards/Mid-Career-Fellowships-Awards-2013.cfm>.

Ministry of Culture and Information, "Saudi Radio" (Arabic), (*Ministry of Culture and Information*, 11 June 2010). Accessed on 18 February 2015 <http://www.info.gov.sa/SectDetails.aspx?id=3>

....., "Saudi TV", (Arabic), (*Ministry of Culture and Information*, 11 June 2010). Accessed on 18 February 2015 <http://www.info.gov.sa/SectDetails.aspx?id=3>

Painting and patronage <http://www.paintingandpatronage.com/en/who-we-are>

Painting & Patronage, Limited Edition Signed Lithographs in Association with the Anglo Arab Organisation. <http://gulfartguide.com/g/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Abha-Painting-and-Patronage-Prince-Khaled-al-Faisal-brochure.pdf>

"President of the Painting and Patronage pays tribute to the cultural exchange between the Kingdom and Britain" (Arabic), (*Saudi Press Agency*, 01 April 2010). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.spa.gov.sa/cdetails.php?id=764987&catid=3>

Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, London, *Saudi-British Relations* <http://www.mofa.gov.sa/Detail.asp?InSectionID=2306&InNewsItemID=28862>

Royal Saudi Air Force. "The History of the Royal Saudi Air Force. The Beginning of Aircraft in the Skies over the Arabian Peninsula". The official governmental site of the Royal Saudi Air Force (Arabic). Accessed on 17 February 2015
<http://www.rsaf.gov.sa/Pages/History.aspx>

"Saudi Arabia; Education" (United States Library of Congress, 04 May 2013). Accessed on 08 February 2015 <http://countrystudies.us/saudi-arabia/31.htm>

"Saudi Arabia's achievements in the service of Islam and Muslims", (Al-Darah King Abdul Aziz Library), Accessed on 10 February 2015
<http://www.darah.org.sa/Pages/default.aspx>

Saudi-British Society in London. www.saudibritishsociety.org.uk/

"Society Projects" (Saudi-British Society). Accessed on 08 February 2015
<http://www.saudibritishsociety.org.uk/main/projects.html>

Sotheby's, 7 March 2009, accessed on 14 January 2015.
<http://www.sothebys.com/fr/auctions/ecatalogue/2009/natural-history-travel-atlases-and-maps-l09770/lot.113.html>. See also American Exchange, 5 July 2009, and Art Daily 10 July 2009. Accessed on 14 January 2015.
<http://artdaily.com/news/30656/Sotheby-s-To-Sell-An-Historic-Album-Photographs-Recording-the-First-British-Royal-Visit-to-Saudi-Arabia-and-Bahrain#.VLOw8iusWSo>.

Stiasny, Mary, 2008. "Mobility Matters: Forty Years of International Students, Forty Years of UKCISA", (UKCISA: London). Accessed on 15 February 2015
<http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/resources/29/Mobility-matters-40-years-of-international-students-40-years-of-UKCISA>

Szondi, Gyorgy, 2008. *Discussion Paper in Diplomacy. Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences*. (Netherlands Institute of International Relations). Accessed on 08 February 2015.
http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20081022_pap_in_dip_nation_branding.pdf

Thatcher, Margaret, "Speech to Chatham House Conference on Saudi Arabia", 4 Oct 1993. *Margaret Thatcher Foundation*. Accessed on 08 February 2015
<http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/108323>

"The Hajj and British Muslims", The British Museum. Accessed on 11 February 2015. <http://www.britishmuseumshoponline.org/exhibition/hajj/icat/hajj>

Simcox, Robin, 2009. *A Degree of Influence. The Funding of Strategically Important Subjects in UK Universities*, (The Centre for Social Cohesion: London). Accessed on 09 February 2015
http://www.christopherdavidson.net/files/Foreign_funding.pdf

Thomson, George, *Arab States*. HC Deb 06 December 1965 vol. 722 c14W. Accessed 14 January 2015.

http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1965/dec/06/arab-states#S5CV0722P0_19651206_CWA_77

Thomson, George, Oral Answers to Questions — *Saudi Arabia (Buraimi)*, in the House of Commons 22 November 1965. Accessed on 18 February 2015

<http://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=1965-11-22a.29.7&s=George+Thomson+Saudi+segment%3A18949500#g29.9>

“Trade and Saudi Arabia”, *The Saudi Arabian British Bank*, March 2001, p. 4. www.sabb.com.

UKCISA, “International student statistics: UK higher education”, United Kingdom Council for International Student Affairs (UKCISA). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/Info-for-universities-colleges--schools/Policy-research--statistics/Research--statistics/International-students-in-UK-HE/>

....., *Tony Blair: Downing Street reception for international students and programme sponsors to launch PMI2. Mobility Matters Forty Years of International students, Forty Years of UKCISA*. UK Council for International Student Affairs UKCISA, 2006
http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/files/pdf/about/mobility_matters.pdf .

UNESCO, 1998. *Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development. Adopted in by the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development*, (UNESCO: Sweden). Accessed on 16 February 2015
<http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/cultural.pdf>.

....., *Cultural Diversity*. Social and Human Sciences. International Migration and Multicultural Policies. Accessed on 16 February 2015
<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/cultural-diversity/>

....., *World Commission on Culture and Development, Twenty-Seventh Session*, (UNESCO: Paris). Accessed on 16 February 2015
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000957/095724eo.pdf>.

“Visa statistics by country (top ten countries/territories)”, (*Institute for Public Policy Research*, February 2011). Accessed on 11 February 2015
http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/about/statistics_visas.php.

Walker, Peter, *Saudi Arabia*. HC Debate 27 February 1990 vol. 168 cc102-3W.
 Accessed 11 February 2015.
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1990/feb/27/saudi-arabia#S6CV0168P0_19900227_CWA_16

G) Government Published

House of Commons, 2001 “11 September 2001: The Response”, *House of Commons, Research Paper 01/72*. Accessed on 08 February 2015
www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/RP01-72.pdf

OECD, *High Quality Education and Training for All*, Meeting Of the Education Committee at Ministerial Level, 14 November 1990. SG/ Press (90) 69, accessed on 23 January 2015.
<http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=SG/PR/ESS%2890%2969&docLanguage=bi>

Passports and Nationality Department, 1974. Pilgrims Arriving from Foreign Countries by Sex. Nationality and Mode of Arrival, 1393 AH, Table 4-32.

Saudi Press Agency (SPA). “General Information” (last updated 11 June 2013). Accessed on 27 January 2015.
<http://www.spa.gov.sa/English/GeneralInformation.php>

Students studying abroad by country, Ministry of Higher Education Statistic, 1978/1979. Table 2070

2. Secondary Sources

A) Books

Aarts, Paul, and Gerd Nonneman, eds., 2005. *Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs*, (New York University Press: New York). Aldamer, Shafi, 2003. *Saudi Arabia and Britain: Change Relations, 1939-1953*. (Ithaca Press: Portland) p. 277.

Al-Jubouri, I.M.N., 2010. *Islamic Thought: From Mohammed to 11, September 2001*, (Xlibris Publishing, Dartford, Kent);

Al-Jubouri, I.M.N., *United State of America*, (Xlibris Publishing, Dartford, Kent).

Al-Kayali, Abdul-Wahab. *Diplomacy Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 2, pp. 658-62.

Almaajil, Abdullah, 2005. *Alienation II*, (Saqi Books: London).

Al-Omari, Ali, 2014. *The absence of the Arabic Cultural Diplomacy*.

- Al-Qarni, Ali, 2007. "The Image of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in British Press after 9/11", *King Saud University*, pp. 1-10.
- Al Yahya, Eid, ed., 2006. *Travellers in Arabia: British Explorers in Saudi Arabia*, (Stacey International: London & Heritage Riyadh).
- Aron, Raymond, 1966. *Peace and War*, (Weidenfeld and Nicholson: London:, 1966), pp. 168-75.
- Bayly Winder, Richard, 1965. *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* (Macmillan: London).
- Brahimi, Lakhdar and Dr. W. Dekker, 1986. *Who is Speaking to Whom in the Euro-Arab Dialogue: Euro-Arab Dialogue Lecturers II*, (The Luftia Rabbani Foundation; The Hague), p. 15.
- Botan, Carl, H. and Vincent Hazleton, 2009. *Public Relations Theory II*. (Taylor & Francis: New York, London), p. 386.
- Cesari, Jocelyne and Sean McLoughlin, 2005. *European Muslims and Secular State*, (Ashgate: Farnham, UK).
- Citino, Nathan J., 2002. *From Arab Nationalism to OPEC: Eisenhower, King Saud, and the Making of US-Saudi Relations*, (Indiana University Press: Bloomington), pp. 107-108.
- Cordesman, Anthony H. , 2009. *Saudi Arabia: national security in a troubled region*, (Praeger: Santa Barbara CA, USA), pp. 320-1.
- Cordesman, Anthony H., 2003. *Saudi Arabia Enters the Twenty-First Century: The Political, Foreign Policy, Economic and Energy Dimensions*, (Praeger Publishers: Washington DC).
- Cull, Nicholas, 2008. *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy 1945-1989*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge), pp. 1-7.
- Farsy, Fouad, 1986. *Saudi Arabia: A Case Study in Development*, (KPI Limited: London).
- Ghareeb, Edmund, ed., 1983. *Split Vision: the portrayal of Arabs in American media*, (American Arab Affairs Council).
- Graham, Robert, 1978. *Iran: The Illusion of Power*, (St. Martin's Press: New York).
- Hélie-Lucas, Marieme, ed., 2011. *Dossier 30-31: The Struggle for Secularism in Europe and North America*, (Women Living Under Muslim Laws: London).

- Hocking, Brian, 2005. "Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy". Ed. Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*. (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd: London).
- Hollis, Rosemary, 2010. *Britain and the Middle East in the 9/11 Era*, (Wiley Blackwell: London), p. 172.
- Ibn Khaldun, *Al-muqaddimah* (Introduction), Cairo (D.t), p. 147.
- Ismael, Tareq Y., 1999. *International Relations of the Contemporary Middle East: A Study in World Politics*, (Syracuse University Press: Syracuse, NY, USA), p. 90.
- Jawad, H.A., 1992. *Euro-Arab Relations: A Study in Collective Diplomacy* (Ithaca Press: Reading).
- Khader, Bichara, 2013. The European Union and the Palestinian Question (1957-2013): Soft Diplomacy and Hard Realities, (Louvain-La-Neuve: Belgium), pp. 6-7. Accessed on 11 November 2014
http://www.moc.pna.ps/elibrary/khader_eu_palestine_1957_-2013_general.pdf
- Knight, Jonathan, Robin Niblett and Thomas Raines, 2012. *Hard Choices Ahead: British Attitudes towards the UK's International Priorities* (Chatham House: London).
- Laroui, Abdullah, 1983. *Arabs and Historical Thought*, (Dar Elhaqiqa: Beirut), pp. 206.
- Leatherdale, Clive, 1983. *Britain and Saudi Arabia 1925-1939: The Imperial Oasis* (Frank Cass: London).
- Litvak, Meir, ed., 2006. *Middle Eastern Societies and the West: Accommodation or Clash of Civilization?*, (The Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University).
- Marks, Ronald A., 2010. *Spying in America in the Post 9/11 World: Domestic Threat and the Need for Change*, (Praeger: Santa Barbara CA, USA), pp.87-9.
- Melissen, Jan, 2005. "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice". Ed. Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*, (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd: London).
- de Mooij, Marieki, 2014. *Global Marketing and Advertising: Understanding Cultural Paradoxes*, (Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks CA, USA).
- Nonneman, Gerd, Tim Niblock and Bogdan Szajkowski, eds., 1997. *Muslim Communities in the New Europe*, (Ithaca Press: London).
- Olins, Wally, 2005. "Making a National Brand". Ed. Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*, (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd: London).

- Peterson, J.E., 2003. *Historical Dictionary of Saudi Arabia*. 2nd ed. (Published online by jepeterson.net). Accessed on 17 February 2015
http://www.jepeterson.net/sitebuildercontent/sitebuilderfiles/Saudi_Arabia_Bibliography.pdf
- Priestland, J. ed., 1992. *The Buraimi Dispute: Contemporary Documents 1950-1961*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).
- Quandt, William, 1981. *Saudi Arabia in the 1980s: Foreign Policy, Security, and Oil* (The Brookings Institution: Washington, DC, USA).
- Rabasa, Angel M. et al., 2004. *The Muslim World after 9/11*, (Rand Corporation: Santa Monica CA, USA), pp. 152-155.
- Riordan, Shaun, 2005. "Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?". Ed. Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*, (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd: London).
- Rose, Martin and Nick Wadham-Smith, 2004. *Mutuality, Trust and Cultural Relations*, (Counterpoint: London).
- Rosie, Michael, et al., 2007. "Nation Speaking unto nation? Newspapers and national identity in the devolved UK", In: Ali Al-Qarni, "The Image of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in British Press after 9/11".
- Rubin, Barry, 1980. *The Great Power in the Middle East: 1941-1947*, (Frank Cass: London).
- Safran, Nadav, 1988. *Saudi Arabia: The Ceaseless Quest for Security*, (Cornell University Press: Ithica NY, USA), p. 9.
- Said, Edward, 1981, *Covering Islam: How The Media And The Experts Determine How We See The Rest Of The World*, (Pantheon Books: New York); in Marc Raboy, 1992. "Media and the Invisible Crisis of Everyday Life". Marc Raboy and Bernard Dagenais, eds., *Media, Crisis and Democracy: Mass Communication and the Disruption of Social Order*, (Sage Publications: London), pp. 133-43. Downloaded on November 11, 2014 from:
http://media.mcgill.ca/files/1992_Sage.pdf
- Schneider, Cynthia P., 2005. "Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy that Works". Ed. Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*, (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd: London).
- Scott-Smith, Giles, 2008. *Network of Empire: the US State Department's Foreign Leader Program in the Netherlands, France, and Britain 1950-70*, (P.I.E. Peter Lang: Brussels), pp. 25-26.
- Sfakianakis, John, 2007. *SABB Notes, Saudi-British Trade Relations: Oil is only half the story... or less*, (SABB: Riyadh).

- Shoult, Anthony, ed., 2003. *Doing Business with Saudi Arabia*, (GMB Publishing: London).
- Tashkandi, Abbas, *Print in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*. (1999) p. 43.
- The Modern and Contemporary Arab Gulf History, 1996/1997*, Vol. 3, Cairo.
- Troeller, Gary, 1976. *The Birth of Saudi Arabia: Britain and the Rise of the House of Sa'ud* (Frank Cass: London).
- Turner, Victor and Edith Turner, 1978, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, (Columbia University Press; New York).
- Vinen, Richard, 2010. *Thatcher's Britain: The Politics and Social Upheaval of the 1980s*, (Pocket Books: London).
- Wilson, Peter W., and Douglas F. Graham, 1994. *Saudi Arabia: The Coming Storm*, (M.E. Sharpe: New York) pp. 95-96.
- Zakaria, Qassem Jamal, *King Saud bin Abdul Aziz Research and Studies: The Egyptian-Saudi Relations in the Reign of King Saud bin Abdul Aziz*, (vol. 4, Circuit of King Abdul-Aziz: Riyadh, 1429 AH) pp. 433-437.
- Zuhur, Sherifa , 2005. *Saudi Arabia: Islamic Threat, Political Reform, and the Global War on Terror*, (Strategic Studies Institute: Carlisle, PA, USA), p. 25.

B) Journals, Research, Academic Institutes Articles

- Aitken, Jonathan, *Foreign Affairs*, HC Deb 10 November 1975, vol. 899 cc933-1064. Accessed on 26 January 2015. <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1975/nov/10/foreign-affairs>
- Al-Abdulkareem, Saleh, n.d. *Education Development in Saudi Arabia; Curriculum and Instruction*. Department College of Education, King Saud University. Accessed 14 January 2015. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/86318616/Education-Development-in-Saudi-Arabia-Historical-Project>
- AlAnsari, Omar Mohammad, "Towards strengthening bridges of understanding between the GCC countries and Britain; the role of education in building bridges". The GCC Days in London Conference, 20 October 2010. Unpublished.
- Al-Arabi, Osman Mohammed, , 'sorat al-mamlaka al-arabia alsaudia fi wasaeel al-elaam al-amrikiya ma namozag mogtrah letahssen sorat aye doula fi wasaeel elaam doula akhora'.
- Al-Fahadi, A., "Saudi Arabian Teachers' Attitude and Perception Towards the Appropriate Cultural Models for the EFL Teaching In Saudi Public Schools", Med. Dissertation, University of Exeter (2006): in Abdulrahman al-Fahadi, *Saudi*

Teachers' views on Appropriate Cultural Models for EFL Textbooks: Insights into TESOL Teachers' Management of Global Cultural Flows and Local Realities in Their Teaching Worlds, 2010. (PhD thesis, Department of Education, The University of Exeter), pp. 6-15.

Al-Farhan, Farhan, 2003. *OPEC Policies and the Economic Development of Member States: the Saudi Arabian Experience and what is needed in the 21st century*. (The Centre for American and International law). Accessed on 23 January 2015. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.200.5439&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

Alhaysi, Huda, "The Higher Education". A speech given at the GCC Days in London Conference (18 October, 2010).

Al-Hejailan, Salah, 1988. "The Future of Euro-Arab Dialogue", *Arab Law Quarterly*, (BRILL: Leiden), vol. 4 (2), pp. 118-27.

Alkhathlan, Khalid A., n.d. *Have been the Development Plans in Saudi Arabia Achieving their Goals? A VAR Approach*. (King Saud University, College of Business Administration), pp. 5-6. Accessed on 23 January 2015. <http://faculty.ksu.edu.sa/alkhathlan/Documents/paper1.pdf>.

Al Majalla magazine. 7 March, 2011. <http://www.majalla.com/eng/about-us>

Alromi, Naif, 2009. *Vocational Education in Saudi Arabia*. (State College, PA: Penn State University), p. 9.

Al-Sadeq, Alaly, 2006. *International Cultural Relations: Political and Legal Study*. Issue 1, (Office of University Publications: Algeria).

Al-Saud, Naef Bin Ahmed, 2009. "Saudi Arabia's Strategy to Combat Terrorism: An Insider's Perspective", *RUSI Journal*, (Royal United Services Institute: London), vol. 154 (6).

Al-Yaqeen, Ain. "In Brief." (Weekly Arab Magazine, 2004). <http://www.ainalyaqeen.com/issues/20041203/index.htm>

Aramco Overseas Company. "Aramco supports King Fahad Academy in the UK." 2009. <http://aramcooverseas.com/en/news-and-publications/press-releases/latest-news/king-fahad-academy/>

Ataamish, H., 'awlamah am amrakah', (Globalization or Americanization), Cairo: Maktab al-Tiib, in: Abdulrahman al-Fahadi, *Saudi Teachers' views on Appropriate Cultural Models for EFL Textbooks: Insights into TESOL Teachers' Management of Global Cultural Flows and Local Realities in Their Teaching Worlds*, 2010. (PhD thesis, Department of Education, The University of Exeter).

Baki, Roula, 2004. "Gender-Segregated Education in Saudi Arabia: Its Impact on Social Norms and the Saudi Labor Market", *Education Policy Analysis Archives*,

vol. 12 (28). Accessed on 11 February 2015
<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/viewFile/183/309>

Barakat, Sultan, 2004. *Recreating trust in the Middle East*, (Counterpoint: London).

Bart, Ronald Adam, G.C.B, 1949. "Britain's Cultural Relations with Other Nations", Lecture at the Royal United Services Institution, Wednesday 2 March 1949, (Taylor & Francis: London), pp. 369-370.

Belshek, Jalal Ali, "The Influence of Culture on the Negotiation Styles of British Students", *ARECLS e-journal*, (University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England). Accessed on 16 February 2015
http://research.ncl.ac.uk/ARECLS/volume_3/jalalali.pdf

Baron, Britta, 1993. "The Politics of Academic Mobility in Western Europe", *Higher Education Policy*, (International Association of Universities: Paris), vol., 6 (3), pp.50-54. Accessed on 12 February 2015 http://www.uni-kassel.de/wz1/mahe/course/module6_3/02_baron93.pdf

Bin, Sang Hun, Kyung Ryun Cho, Hong Ju Na, and Young Hee Park, 2013. *Correlation between Cultural Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange: in Cases of the British Council and the Korean Cultural Center*, (The Academy for Cultural Diplomacy, Berlin: Institute for Cultural Diplomacy ICD). Accessed 14 January 2015. http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2013-07-iscd-uk/Bin_Sang_Hun,_Cho_Kyung_Ryun,_Na_Hong_Ju,Park_Young_Hee.pdf.

Birukou, Aliaksandr et al., 2009. *A Formal Deflation of Culture*, (University of Trento: Italy). Accessed on 16 February 2015
<http://eprints.biblio.unitn.it/1604/1/021.pdf>

Bressand, Albert and Thierry de Montbrial, 1979. "The Ups and Downs of Mutual Relevance", *Daedalus, Old Faiths and New Doubts: The European Predicament*, (American Academy of Arts & Sciences: Cambridge, MA, USA), vol. 108 (2), p. 127.

Brett, Jeanne M, 2000. "Culture and Negotiation", *International Journal of Psychology*, (Wiley-Blackwell: Hoboken, NJ., USA), vol. 35 (2), pp. 97-104.

Buchan, James, n.d. "Middle East Public Diplomacy Working Paper: Saudi Arabia", Foreign Policy Centre: London. Accessed on 21 September 2013
<http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/86.pdf>.

Chou, Chuang Prudence, Amy Roberts, Gregory S. Ching, 2012. "A study on the international students' perception and norms in Taiwan", *International Journal of Research Studies in Education*, (Consortia Academica: Phillipines), vol. 1 (2), pp. 71-84.

- Cordesman, Anthony H. and Nawaf Obaid, 2005. *Al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia: Asymmetric Threats and Islamist Extremists*, (Center for Strategic and International Studies: Washington DC, USA), pp. 11-3.
- Cueille, Jean-Philippe, 2012. *Panorama 2012: The Oil and Gas Producing Countries of North Africa and the Middle East*, (IFP Energies nouvelles: Paris).
- Dajjani, Ahmad S., 1976. *Euro-Arab Dialogue: an Arab Point of View* (Arabic), (Anglo- Egyptian Library: Cairo), p. 260. Downloaded on November 11, 2014 from:
http://aei.pitt.edu/13823/1/Friedhelm_Hoffmann_Bibliographie_der_arabischen_Fachliteratur_zur_europaeischen_Integration.pdf
- Davis, Eric 1991. "Theorizing Statecraft and Social Change in Arab Oil-Producing Countries" in E. Davis and N. Gavrielides eds., *Statecraft in the Middle East: Oil, Historical Memory, and Popular Culture*, (Florida International University Press: Miami).
- Duke, Barry, "One Islamic school is closed, and another criticised [sic] for failing to remove religious hate literature." (*The Freethinker*, 27 March 2007). Accessed on 11 February 2015 <http://freethinker.co.uk/2007/03/27/one-islamic-school-is-closed-and-another-critised-for-failing-to-remove-religious-hate-literature/>
- Eilts, Hermann Frederick, 1988. "Saudi Arabia: Traditionalism versus Modernism—A Royal Dilemma?" *Ideology and Power in the Middle East: Studies in Honor of George Lenczowski*, eds. Peter J. Chelkowski and Robert J. Pranger. (Duke University Press: Durham NC, USA) pp. 56-88.
- Federal Research Division, 2004. *Saudi Arabia: A Country Study*, (Kessinger Publishing: Washington DC, USA), pp. 278-285.
- Fisk, Robert, 2006. *The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle East*, (Harper Perennial: London).
- Fitzsimons, M.A., 1957. "The Suez Crisis and the Containment Policy", *The Review of Politics*, (University of Notre Dame: Notre Dame IN, USA), vol. 19 (4), pp. 419-445.
- Fox, Byron L., "International Cultural Relations", *American Sociological Review*, (American Sociological Association: Washington, DC., USA), vol. 15 (4), pp. 489-495. Accessed 14 January 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2087307>.
- Freeman, Jr., Chas W., "Saudi Arabia: The End of Progress without Change", (*Middle East Policy Council*, 11 February 2010). Accessed on 12 February 2015 <http://mepc.org/articles-commentary/speeches-hub/saudi-arabia-end-progress-without-change>
- Gat, Moshi, 2006. "Britain and the Occupied Territories after the 1967 War", *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, (Global Research in International Affairs Center (GLORIA): Herzliya, Israel), vol. 10 (4), pp. 68-80.

- de Gaury, Gerald, 1946. "The End of Arabian Isolation", *Foreign Affairs*, (Council on Foreign Relations: Tampa FL, USA), vol. 25 (1), pp. 82-89.
- "Grand Mufti and Others Denounce London Bombings", (*Fatwa-Online*, 09 July 2005). Accessed on 10 February 2005 <http://www.fatwa-online.com/grand-mufti-and-others-denounce-london-bombings/>
- Gundara, Jagdish S., 2001/2 "Multiculturalism in Canada, Britain and Australia: The Role of Intercultural Education", *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, (British Association for Canadian Studies: London), vol. 17, pp. 40-59. Accessed on 10 February 2015 http://www.canadian-studies.net/lccs/LJCS/Vol_17/Gundara.pdf
- Haque, Mozammel, "Progress of Muslim Education in the United Kingdom during 2007", (*London Central Mosque Trust Ltd. & The Islamic Cultural Centre*, 03 August 2009). Accessed on 19 June 2013 <http://www.iccuk.org/page.php?section=media&article=22>
- Hearne, Ellie B. and Nur Laiq, 2010. *A New Approach? De-Radicalization Programs and Counter-Terrorism*, (International Peace Institute: New York).
- Hegghammer, Thomas, "There is nothing soft about Saudi counterterrorism", (*Foreign Policy*, 11 March 2010). Accessed on 09 February 2015 <http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/03/11/there-is-nothing-soft-about-saudi-counterterrorism/>
- Horgan, John and Kurt Braddock, 2010. "Rehabilitating the Terrorists?: Challenges in Assessing the effectiveness of De-radicalization Programs", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22 (2010): 267–291. Accessed on 14 January 2015. <http://www.start.umd.edu/sites/default/files/files/publications/Derad.pdf>
- Howard, Ross and Shamil Idriss, 2006. "Research Base for the High-level Group Report Analysis on Media", *Alliance of Civilizations Secretariat*, (United Nations: New York).
- Hrair, Dekmejian, R., 1998. "Saudi Arabia's Consultative Council", *Middle East Journal*, (Middle East Policy Council: Washington, DC, USA), vol. 52 (2), pp. 204-218.
- IPPR, "Pursuit of Artificial Immigration Targets will Cause Real Damage to UK Universities and Colleges". (Institute for Public Policy Research, 22 February 2011). Accessed on 12 February 2015 <http://www.ippr.org/press-releases/111/2408/pursuit-of-artificial-immigration-targets-will-cause-real-damage-to-uk-universities-and-colleges>
- Jackson, Jane, 2005. "An inter-University, Cross-Disciplinary Analysis of Business Education: Perceptions of Business Faculty in Hong Kong", *English for Specific Purposes*, (Elsevier), vol. 24 (3), pp. 304–306. Accessed on 10 February 2015 <http://libra.msra.cn/Publication/49407342/an-inter-university-cross-disciplinary-analysis-of-business-education-perceptions-of-business>

- Jarvis, Jeremy, 2002 “‘Never Forget’: Tony Blair’s Public Diplomacy during the Afghanistan Crisis September 11 – December 2001”, (dissertation on the RCDS course of international strategic studies), pp. 3-11.
- Jones, C. and J. Stone, 1997. “Britain and the Arabian Gulf: New Perspectives on Strategic Influence”, *International Relations*, (Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, CA, USA), vol. 13 (4), pp. 1-25.
- Karsh, Irfan, 2002. *The Iran – Iraq War 1980-1988*, (Osprey Publishing: Oxford).
- Kettell, Steven, 2011. *New Labour and the New World Order: Britain's Role in the War on Terror*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester).
- Khalaf, Abdulhadi and Giacomo Luciani, 2007. *Constitutional Reform and Political Participation in the Gulf*, (Gulf Research Centre: Dubai), p. 92.
- King, Anthony, 2007. *The British Constitution*, (Oxford University Press: Oxford), p. 101.
- Kipper, Judith, 2002. “Saudi Arabia”, *Council on Foreign Relations*. Accessed on 09 November 2014 <http://www.cfr.org/saudi-arabia/saudi-arabia/p4500>
- Kostiner, Joseph, 1996. *The Making of Saudi: From Chieftaincy to Monarchical State 1916-1936*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Lansford, Tom, 2001. *9/11 and the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq: A Chronology and Reference Guide*, (ABC-CLIO: Santa Barbara CA, USA), pp. 230-40.
- Lantis, Jeffrey S., 2006. *Strategic Culture: From Clausewitz to Constructivism*. Prepared for: Defence Threat Reduction Agency Advanced Systems and Concepts Office Comparative Strategic Cultures Curriculum. (Washington, DC), p. 3. Accessed 14 January 2015. <http://www.fas.org/irp/agency/dod/dtra/stratcult-claus.pdf>
- Maringe, Felix and Nick Foskett, eds., *Globalization and Internationalization in Higher Education: Theoretical, Strategic and Management Perspectives*. (Continuum: London), p. 38.
- Melamid, Alexander, 1986. “Review of ‘Britain and Saudi Arabia 1925-1939: The Imperial Oasis, by Clive Leatherdale’”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge), vol. 18 (4), pp.518-519. Stable URL: Accessed on 19 February 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/163480>
- Miller, Rory, 2014. “The Euro-Arab Dialogue and the Limits of European External Intervention in the Middle East, 1974-77”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, (Routledge: London), vol. 50 (6), pp. 936-59.
- “Mosques around the world”, *Journal of Islamic University*, vol. 61, February/March 1983.

- Mulley, Sarah and Alice Sachrajda, 2011. *Student Migration in the UK*. (IPPR: London). Accessed on 08 February 2015
http://www.ippr.org/images/media/files/publication/2011/05/student%20migration%20Feb2011_1824.pdf
- Myron, Jr., Herbert B., 1946. "Languages Anew". *The Modern Language Journal*, (National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations: Monterey CA, USA), vol. 30 (3), pp. 122-33.
- Nehme, Michel G., 1994. "Saudi Arabia 1950-80: Between Nationalism and Religion", *Middle Eastern Studies*, (Taylor & Francis: Oxford), vol. 30 (4), pp. 930-943.
- Niama, Mohammad, 2010. *The Cultural Diplomacy and its Role in Promote the Foreign Policy Decision*, (University of Babylon: Iraq).
- Nonneman, Gerd, 2001. "Saudi-European Relations 1902-2001: A Pragmatic Quest for Relative Autonomy", *International Affairs*, (Royal Institute of International Affairs: London), vol. 77 (3), pp 631-661 URL:
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3095442>
- Norrman, Karl-Erik, "Definitions, Ideas, Visions and Challenge for Cultural Diplomacy", (*E-International Relations*, 3 January 2013). Accessed on 16 February 2015 <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/01/03/definitions-ideas-visions-and-challenges-for-cultural-diplomacy>
- Orr, Judith, "After attacks on mosques and schools, British Muslims say, 'We're stronger together'", (*Socialist Worker*, 11 June 2013). Accessed on 02 September 2013.
<http://socialistworker.co.uk/art/33572/+After+attacks+on+mosques+and+schools,+British+Muslims+say,+Were+stronger+together.>
- Pasquesoone, Valentine, "Higher Education: The Path to Progress for Saudi Women", (*World Policy Blog*, 18 October 2011). Accessed on 08 February 2015
<http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2011/10/18/higher-education-path-progress-saudi-women>
- Peterson, J.E., 1991. "The Arabian Peninsula in Modern Times: A Historiographical Survey", *American Historical Review*, (American Historical Association: Bloomington, IN., USA), vol. 96 (5), pp. 1435-1449. Accessed 14 January 2015.
http://www.jepeterson.net/sitebuildercontent/sitebuilderfiles/Arabian_Peninsula_in_Modern_Times.pdf.
- Ramady, Mohamed, and John Saeed, "Foreign Direct Investment: A Strategic Move Toward Sustainable Free Enterprise and Economic Development in Saudi Arabia", *Thunderbird International Business Review*, (Thunderbird School of Global Management: Glendale, AZ. USA), vol. 49 (1), pp. 37-56.

- Rahman, Mohammed Mahib ur and Eid Alhaisoni, "Teaching English in Saudi Arabia: Prospects and Challenges", *SAVAP International*, vol. 4 (1), pp. 112-118. Accessed on 10 February 2015
<http://www.savap.org.pk/journals/ARInt./Vol.4%281%29/2013%284.1-11%29.pdf>
- Richardson, John E., 2001 "British Muslims in the Broadsheet Press: A Challenge to Cultural Hegemony". *Journalism Studies* (Routledge: London), vol. 2 (2), pp. 221-42.
- Ruigrok, Nel and Wouter van Atteveldt, 2007. "Global Angling with a Local Angle: How US, British and Dutch Newspapers Frame Global and Local Terrorist Attacks", *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, (SAGE Publications; Thousand Oaks, CA, USA), vol. 12 (1), pp. 68-90. Accessed on 10 February 2015 <http://hij.sagepub.com/content/12/1/68.short?rss=1&ssource=mfc>
- Runnymede Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia, 2003. "The Muslim Council of Britain Response to Islamophobia – Issues, Challenges and Action," (Runnymede Trust: Stratford).
- Ryniejska – Kiełdanowicz, Marta, n.d. *Cultural Diplomacy as a Form of International Communication*. (Wrocław Institute for International Studies). Accessed on 11 February 2015
<http://www.interarts.net/descargas/interarts664.pdf>
- Sakkas, John, *The Western "Alliance" and the Middle East in the early 1970s*, Downloaded on November 11, 2014 from:
http://www.academia.edu/9137996/The_Western_Alliance_and_the_Middle_East_in_the_early_1970s
- Salameh, Ghassan and Vivian Steir, 1980. "Political Power and the Saudi State", *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) Reports*, No. 91, [Saudi Arabia on the Brink], pp. 5-22.
- Satia, Priya, 2006 "The Defense of Inhumanity: Air Control and the British Idea of Arabia." *The American Historical Review* (American Historical Association: Bloomington, IN., USA), vol. 111 (1), pp. 16-51.
- SAGIA, International Operations/United Kingdom.
http://www.sagia.gov.sa/en/Investment-climate/Interational-Operations-/United_Kingdom/
- Schneider, Cynthia P., 2003. *Diplomacy that Works: 'Best Practice' in Cultural Diplomacy*. (Centre for Art and Culture, Georgetown University), p. 4. Accessed on 16 February 2015
<http://www1.georgetown.edu/grad/cct/CulturalDiplomacy.pdf>.

- Schneider Cynthia P., 2009. "The Unrealized Potential of Cultural Diplomacy: "Best Practices" and What Could Be, If Only. Best Practices for Cultural Diplomacy", *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, (Heldref Publications) vol. 39 (4), pp. 260-279.
- Schofield, Richard N., 2008. "Laying, it down in Stone: Delimiting and Demarcating Iraq's Boundaries by mixed International Commission", *Journal of Historical Geography*, (Elsevier: London), vol. 34 (3), pp. 397-421.
- St Antony's College, Middle East Centre.
<http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/mec/MEChandlists/Philby-Collection.pdf>, PHILBY, Reference code: GB165-0229. Title: Harry St John Philby Collection. Name of creator: Philby, Harry St John Bridger (1885-1960) Explorer and Orientalist Dates of creation of material: c1902-1957.
- SUSRIS, Interview with Rachel Bronson, *President Roosevelt and King Abdul-Aziz - The Meeting at Great Bitter Lake: A Conversation with Rachel Bronson*. Saudi-US Relations Information Service, March 17, 2005. Accessed on 14 January 2015
<http://susris.sustg.org/2005/03/17/president-roosevelt-and-king-abdulaziz-the-meeting-at-great-bitter-lake-a-conversation-with-rachel-bronson>
-, "Two Countries: Facing the Challenges Ahead: UK-Saudi Conference 2005", (Saudi-US Relations Information Service. Accessed 14 January 2015.
<http://susris.com/2005/03/19/two-countries-facing-the-challenges-ahead-uk-saudi-conference/>
-, "King Abdullah Begins Historic UK Visit", (Saudi-US Relations Information Service, 31 October 2007). Accessed on 14 January 2015.
<http://susris.com/2007/10/31/king-abdullah-begins-historic-uk-visit/>
- Tremblay, Karine, "Links between Academic Mobility and Immigration", Presented at the *Symposium on International Labour and Academic Mobility: Emerging Trends and Implications for Public Policy*. 22 October 2004. Accessed on 27 January 2015. <http://www.wes.org/ewenr/symp/KarineTremblayPaper.pdf>
- University of Newcastle, The Influence of Culture on the Negotiation Styles of British Students http://research.ncl.ac.uk/ARECLS/volume_3/jalalali.pdf
- Vaillant, George C., 1945. "Shadow and Substance in Cultural Relations", *The Scientific Monthly*, (American Association for the Advancement of Science; Washington DC, USA), vol. 60 (5), pp. 373-8.
- Varenne, Hervé, *The Culture of Culture: Snippets from overhearing a conversation about "Culture"*. Accessed on 16 February 2015
http://varenne.tc.columbia.edu/hv/clt/and/culture_def.html
- Vaughan, James, "A certain idea of Britain: British Cultural Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1945 – 1957", *Contemporary British History*, (Routledge: London), vol. 19 (2), pp.151-68.

- Vickers, Rhiannon, "The New Public Diplomacy: Britain and Canada Compared." *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, (Political Studies Association: London), vol. 6 (2) pp.182-94.
- Wanta, Wayne, Guy Golan and Cheolhan Lee, 2003. "Agenda Setting and International News: Media Influence on Public Perceptions of Foreign Nations", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, (SAGE Publications: Thousand Oaks CA, USA), vol. 81 (2), pp. 364-77.
- "Why This Oil Boom is Different", (*Bloomberg Business week*, 12 March 2006). Accessed on 23 January 2015.
http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/06_11/b3975013.htm
- Yafot, Salem, 1998. "Cultural identity and Globalization: Critical Approach", *Journal of Thought and Criticism*. (Morocco), Issue 11.
- Yin, Youwei, 2014. "Britain's Cultural Diplomacy in China", (Master's Thesis, China and International Relations. Aalborg University, Denmark & University of International Relations, China). Accessed 14 January 2015.
http://projekter.aau.dk/projekter/files/197851996/Youwei_Yin_thesis_Britain_s_cultural_diplomacy_in_China.pdf.
- Zhang, Juyan and William L. Benoit, 2004. "Message Strategies of Saudi Arabia's Image Restoration Campaign After 9/11", *Public Relations Review* (Elsevier Inc.: Waltham MA, USA), vol. 30, pp. 161-7.

APPENDIX

- Second batch of student graduates after their mission to the UK.



طلبة الدفعة الثانية من خريجي الطائف بعد ارتدائهم إلى بريطانيا
وتحويلهم إلى الطيران العسكري

Source: <http://www.rsaf.gov.sa/Pages/History.aspx>

- Lt. (Frank Brown) mediates the pilot (Hugh Black) and co-pilot (Peter Herbert) in Saudi Arabia



الملازم (فرانك براون ويتش) يتوسط الطيار (هوك بلاك)
ومساعد الطيار (بيتر هيريت)

Source: <http://www.rsaf.gov.sa/Pages/History.aspx>

- Saudi Minister Commissioner in Britain (Hafiz Wahba) on a visit to the first batch of students at the Air Bases in Britain.
- Graduation ceremony of the first batch shows five Saudi students.



حفل تخرج الدفعة الأولى ويظهر في الصورة كل من الطلبة هاشم سعيد هاشم
ومحمد صبري - وعثمان طه - محمود مراد - وعبدالقادر نور

حافظ وهبة الوزير المفوض السعودي في بريطانيا يزور
طلبة الدفعة الأولى في إحدى القواعد الجوية

Source: <http://www.rsaf.gov.sa/Pages/History.aspx>

- The first batch of pilots with Prince Mansour, Minister of Defence, in Britain



Source: <http://www.moda.gov.sa/Detail.asp?InSectionID=31&InNewsItemID=105>

Table 23: Passengers Travelling by Saudi Arabian Aircraft from Saudi Arabia to EU States (1970-1979).⁶⁷⁵

	Dhahran	Riyadh	Jeddah	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
London	-	42,351	34,598	2,456	2,768	4,382	6,232	12,602	20,552	40,672	60,446	76,949	72,700
Frankfurt	753	7,140	2,306	1,012	1,009	667	487	-	-	-	1,550	10,199	14,178
Rome	-	16,957	5,497	-	-	-	3,596	3,548	4,819	7,514	14,184	22,454	31,185
Paris	58	6,660	10,718	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,436	28,824

Table 24: The Total Number of Passengers Arriving by Saudi Aircraft from European Countries to Domestic Airports over the 1970s.⁶⁷⁶

	Riyadh	Jeddah	Total
London	47,009	36,689	83,698
Frankfurt	13,059	3,949	17,008
Rome	22,200	12,675	34,875
Paris	14,902	15,987	30,889

Table 25: Saudi Students Graduating Abroad by Riyadh University in the UK and US (1970/71).⁶⁷⁷

	UK	US
Total	6	8

⁶⁷⁵ Passengers Travelling by Saudi Arabian Aircrafts from Domestic to Foreign Airports 1970–1979 AD Table 8-28 p 309. Source: Saudi Arabian Airlines

⁶⁷⁶ Source: Saudi Arabian Airlines

⁶⁷⁷ Source: Saudi Arabian Airlines

Table 26: The Percentage of Saudi Arabian Exports of the UK from the European Countries (1972 -80).

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
% UK/EU	14.67%	15.18%	18.05%	13.81%	11.92%	10.72%	9.08%	8.00%	8.51%

Table 27: Percentage of the UK Imports/Exports to Saudi Arabia as a total of the EU (1972-80).

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
IMPORTS UK/EU	23.99%	22.22%	18.22%	24.57%	16.74%	16.38%	16.26%	15.86%	15.05%
EXPORTS UK/EU	14.67%	15.18%	18.05%	13.81%	11.92%	10.72%	9.08%	8.00%	8.51%



HRH Prince Khalid Al-Faisal presents HM Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom with a signed limited edition lithograph on the occasion of the British monarch's visit to the Painting & Patronage exhibition held in London during 2000.

<http://gulfartguide.com/g/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Abha-Painting-and-Patronage-Prince-Khaled-al-Faisal-brochure.pdf>



The Rt Hon Baroness Margaret Thatcher, former British Prime Minister, receives from HRH Prince Khalid Al-Faisal a signed lithograph at a ceremony in 2000 attended by Sir Denis Thatcher and the Chairman of Painting & Patronage, Mr Anthony Bailey.



HRH Prince Khalid Al-Faisal meets with some of the young students and their teachers who participated in several Painting & Patronage summer school programmes held in Abha, London and Riyadh. Further events were planned in Burnley, East London and Jeddah. Each summer school features classes in a wide range of disciplines including geometry, calligraphy, drawing natural forms, textile design and stencilling.



HRH The Prince of Wales and HRH Prince Khalid Al-Faisal held joint exhibitions of their paintings in London in 2000 and Riyadh in 2001 and together launched a significant cultural and educational exchange programme between The Prince's Foundation and the King Faisal Foundation.

For a more detailed discussion of international student immigration statistics see the IPPR's publication [Student migration in the UK](#) (February 2011).

Table 28: Visa Statistics by Country: Top Ten Countries/Territories

	Total exc. visitors		Total inc. student visitors	
	2010	2011	2010	2011
China	44,724	52,484	51,673	59,914
India	49,406	34,827	52,741	38,486
Pakistan	26,490	35,660	26,794	36,100
Saudi Arabia	14,560	10,086	18,374	16,322
United States	14,985	14,476	15,339	14,640
Nigeria	12,256	12,108	15,099	14,618
Russia	3,221	3,754	11,377	13,790
Turkey	4,366	3,118	10,824	11,402
Malaysia	6,938	7,418	6,950	7,442
Hong Kong	7,225	7,236	7,246	7,311

Source: http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/about/statistics_visas.php

Top non-EU sending countries

Top non-EU sending countries

Top 10 non-EU senders	2011-12	2010-11
China (PRC)	78,715	67,325
India	29,900	39,090
Nigeria	17,620	17,585
United States of America	16,335	15,555
Malaysia	14,545	13,900
Hong Kong (Special Administrative Region)	11,335	10,440
Saudi Arabia	9,860	10,270
Pakistan	8,820	10,185
Thailand	6,235	5,945
Canada	6,115	5,905

Source: <http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/Info-for-universities-colleges--schools/Policy-research--statistics/Research--statistics/International-students-in-UK-HE/>